THE PAPERS *of the*
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY
OF AMERICA

VOLUME FIFTY-FIVE THIRD QUARTER, 1961

The Poet Claudian in Francisco de Quevedo's "Sueño del Juicio final"

By JAMES O. CROSBY

BETWEEN 1607 and 1622 Francisco de Quevedo wrote five short *Sueños*, or "Visions of Hell," which have always enjoyed great popularity among Spanish readers, both as entertaining satire and as key examples of baroque prose (they appear in every collection of the Spanish classics). With biting wit these satires portray the comical anguish of the souls of a wide assortment of evil-doers who at the Last Judgement suddenly find themselves condemned to Hell.

Quevedo opens the "Sueño del Juicio final" by quoting Homer, Propertius, Claudian, and Petronius on the nature of dreams.[1] He then explains that he fell asleep reading Blessed Hippolytus' *De consummatione mundi*, and dreamed that he witnessed the Last Judgement. Readers who use Aureliano Fernández-Guerra's edition of the *Sueños* in the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* (XXIII, p. 298a), or Luis Astrana Marín's more recent edition of Quevedo's *Obras completas en prosa* (Madrid, 1945, p. 190b), will find no information at all about any of Quevedo's quotations. In editing the *Sueños* for the Clásicos Castellanos collection (Madrid, 1949, p. 28), Julio Cejador com-

[1] I should like to express my sincere gratitude to Professor Robert E. A. Palmer, of the University of Illinois, for his advice on several points discussed in this article; I am also grateful to the many librarians in Europe and America who kindly furnished me with information about various editions of Claudian's works.

mented on four of the five quotations, but ventured no word about Claudian. Those who search for the quotation from Claudian in the Preface to Book II of the "Rape of Proserpina," as supposedly cited by Quevedo, will not find it there.

In the passage in question, Quevedo comments as follows on the dream which he is about to relate:

> Y aunque en casa de un poeta es cosa dificultosa creer que haya cosa de juicio, aun por sueños, le hubo en mí por la razón que da Claudiano en la prefación al libro segundo del *Rapto,* diciendo que todos los animales sueñan de noche como sombras de lo que trataron de día. Y Petronio Arbitro dice: "Et canis in somnis leporis vestigia latrat" (ed. Cejador, p. 28).

As Juan Antonio Tamayo has explained so convincingly, Cejador took this text directly from Fernández-Guerra, but with neither acknowledgement nor citation.[2] The source of Fernández-Guerra's text was in turn an expurgated edition dated 1648, twenty-one years after the publication of the first edition. During these twenty-one years, the text of the *Sueños* had gone through some fifteen editions and two drastic revisions, the second of which produced a mutilated version which was reprinted in 1648. Astrana Marín claims that his edition, although completely undocumented, restores the text to its original purity, but Tamayo has proved this claim vain and vacuous. In the case of the passage quoted above, Astrana silently intrudes one variant: the insertion of the word "cosas" after "noche." There are nineteen more variants in the MSS listed in his own "Catálogo de Manuscritos,"[3] to say nothing of recently discovered texts.

Since the modern editions of the *Sueños* present only corrupt texts and undocumented references, it is necessary to trace the history of the text to its sources. As explained so clearly by Juan Antonio Tamayo, and by Amédée Mas in the Introduction to his edition of Quevedo's "Sueño del Infierno," there are at least three early printed versions of the *Sueños: Sueños y discursos* (Barcelona, 1627), *Desvelos soñolientos*

[2] Tamayo, "El texto de los *Sueños*," *Boletín de la Biblioteca de Menéndez Pelayo*, XXI (1945), 482-84 (on Cejador's edition), 480-82 (on Fernández-Guerra), and 484-88 (on Astrana).

[3] Quevedo, *Obras completas: obras en verso*, ed. Astrana Marín (Madrid, 1943), pp. 1299b-1300b, "Catálogo de MSS."

(Zaragoza, 1627), and *Juguetes de la niñez* (Madrid, 1631).[4] In the passage under discussion, these versions present certain variants, but unfortunately none is of any help in pursuing the problem of the quotation from Claudian.

Before their publication, the *Sueños* were copied repeatedly by hand, and circulated widely in this form. A limited number of such MSS survive today, and furnish readings very different from those of the printed editions. One presents the following text for the passage under discussion:

> Y aunqu' en casa de un poeta es dificultoso de creer q. aia cosa de juiçio aun en sueños, la huuo en mi por la raçon q. da Claudiano en la prefaccion al tercero libro del "Robo de Proserpina," diciendo:
>
> "Omnia quae sensu volvuntur vota diurno,
> "pectore sopito reddit amica quies."
>
> Que todos los animales sueñen de noche cosas como sombras de las q. trataron de dia. Y Petronio Arbitro lo diçe:
>
> "Et canis in somnis leporis vestigia latrat."[5]

Although this new version may raise as many problems as it solves, the presence of the Latin text enables us to identify the quotation as the first two verses of the Preface to Claudian's "Panegyric on the Sixth Consulship of Honorius Augustus."[6]

Contrary to what one might think, however, this does not mean that Quevedo's reference to Book III of the "Rape of Proserpina" is entirely wrong. In a certain number of MSS of Claudian's works, and in some late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century editions, the Preface is assigned to this Book. Such is the case, for instance, in Theodor Pulmann's very popular edition of Claudian's works, which first appeared in 1571, and was reprinted five times in the next thirty-six years (see below, Bibliographical Appendix). Two of the more reliable seventeenth-century editors, Étienne Clavière and Nicolaas Heinsius, discuss this question, and print the Preface with the "Panegyric."

[4] Quevedo, *Las zahurdas de Plutón (El sueño del Infierno)*, ed. Amédée Mas (Poitiers, [1956]), pp. 15-23, "Étude bibliographique."

[5] Biblioteca de Menéndez Pelayo, MS 109, f. 7r. In transcribing this text I have modernized cautiously only the punctuation (there is next to none in the original), capitalization, and separation of words.

[6] Claudian, ed. Maurice Platnauer (London and New York, 1922), II, 71 (Loeb Classical Library).

Caspar von Barth, influenced by Pulmann, prints it with Book III of the "Rape," only to repent and annotate it with the "Panegyric" because it so appeared in the older editions ("Vetustiores, nisas meliori ratione, ultro nos sequendas duximus").[7] By the eighteenth century, the question of the location of the Preface had been settled in favor of the "Panegyric," and editors began to treat the problem as one of mere historical interest.[8]

It is evident that Quevedo used an edition of Claudian in which the Preface appeared with Book III of the "Rape of Proserpina." This information is of interest not only as a matter of documentation, but also because it narrows the numbers of texts which Quevedo might have followed.

Since Claudian's works were published fairly frequently in the second half of the sixteenth century and in the early years of the seventeenth, it is most likely that Quevedo used a contemporary printed text rather than a manuscript or a very early edition. And since the "Sueño del Juicio final" was written before 1608, that date provides a terminus ad quem.[9] The most authoritative edition produced during this period was prepared by Étienne Clavière (Paris, 1602; see below, Bibliographical Appendix), but Quevedo could not have used this because the Preface in question is printed with the "Panegyric," not with the "Rape." Clavière's text was reprinted three times in Paris in 1602 and 1603. A different series of editions, printed in Lyons by Sebastian Gryphius and others, contain the same peculiarity, and appeared in 1535, 1548, 1551, and 1606. The classical scholar Joseph Juste

[7] *Cl. Claudiani, poetae in suo genere principis, Opera,* ed. Étienne Clavière (Paris, Nicolas Buon, 1602), ff. 151r, 163r (copy in the University of Chicago Library). *Cl. Claudiani quae exstant,* ed. Nicolaas Heinsius (Leyden, 1650), pp. 174, 221 (copy in the University of Illinois Library). *Claudi Claudiani, poetae praegloriosissimi, quae exstant,* ed. Caspar von Barth (Hanover, 1612), pp. 272, 371 (copy in Univ. of Illinois Library).

[8] See, for example, the comments of such editors as Hans Matthäus Gesner (Leipzig, 1759), II, 442a (a review of the problem, expressing amazement at Pulmann's text); Peter Burmann (London, 1821 [1st ed. Amsterdam, 1760]), II, 776, notes; III, 1575a, 1663a (a review of the problem); Ludwig Jeep (Leipzig, 1876), I, xxxiv; II, 29, 106 (listed as a variant); Theodor Birt (Berlin, 1892), pp. cxlviii-clii, clxxxiv-clxxxviii (used in determining filiation of MSS and editions), and 235, 377 (listed as a variant); Julius Koch (Leipzig, 1893), xlii, lviii (no mention at all of the problem).

[9] The "Sueño del infierno" is dated 3 May 1608 (Quevedo, *Obras en prosa,* ed. Astrana, p. 202a). The "Alguacil endemoniado" was written before the "Infierno," and the "Juicio final" before the "Alguacil" (see the references to the "Juicio final" in the "Alguacil" and the "Infierno," *Obras en prosa,* pp. 197a, 203a).

Scaliger was the anonymous editor of the three editions published in Leyden in 1603, 1606, and 1607; a fourth, printed in La Flèche in 1607, seems to have followed Scaliger's text.[10]

The editions which placed the Preface "Omnia quae sensu . . ." with Book III of the "Rape of Proserpina," and which Quevedo must have used, all follow directly or indirectly the text prepared by Theodor Pulmann and published in Antwerp in 1571 (see below). This edition was reprinted in 1585, 1596, 1602, 1606, and 1607. In addition, the Preface appears with the "Rape" in the *Corpus omnium veterum poetarum Latinorum* (Lyon, 1603).

Two problems remain: the inaccuracy of Quevedo's translation of the two verses from Claudian's preface, and the omission of these verses in all texts of the "Sueño del Juicio final" save one MS.

Quevedo translates "Omnia quae sensu volvuntur vota diurno,/ pectore sopito reddit amica quies," as "Todos los animales sueñan de noche cosas como sombras de las q. trataron de dia." This may seem free to the point of inaccuracy: not only have "vota" and "amica quies" disappeared, but the subject of the action is specified as "animales," which would seem to eliminate mankind from consideration, and force "omnia" to represent "animalia," which it cannot because it evidently modifies "vota." "Amica quies," however, is simply poetic diction. With regard to "animales," Professor Rafael Lapesa has kindly pointed out to me that in seventeenth-century Spain the meaning of "animal" was so broad as to include all animate beings. It is defined by Covarrubias in the *Tesoro de la lengua castellana* as follows: "Animal es sustancia animada, adornada de sentido y movimiento; y entre todos el principal es el hombre por ser animal racional; y se dize del bruto, y es nombre genérico para él y para el hombre."[11] Lope de Vega uses "animal" in this same sense in the opening *quintillas* of *El caballero de Olmedo:*

> Don Alonso: Amor, no te llame amor
> el que no te corresponde,
> pues que no hay materia adonde

[10] Ludwig Jeep explains Scaliger's role (*Claudi Claudiani Carmina*, ed. Jeep. Leipzig, 1876, II, pp. xxiv-xxvi).

[11] The punctuation of this passage in Martín de Riquer's edition of the *Tesoro* (Barcelona, 1943, p. 122b) is not clear to me, and so I have followed the text of the original edition (Madrid, 1611, f. 72r, col. b; copy in the Univ. of Illinois Library).

no imprima forma el favor.
Naturaleza, en rigor,
conservó tantas edades
correspondiendo amistades;
que no hay animal perfeto
si no asiste á su conceto
la unión de dos voluntades (I, i).[12]

Although Quevedo's use of "animales" may thus include men, I am unable to reconcile his "all men" with Claudian's "vota."

The problem of the omission of the two Latin verses from all but one MS involves the habits and inclinations of seventeenth-century scribes. These men had no notion of accuracy as we know it, and Latin was more difficult for them to copy than their own tongue, with the result that they sometimes went so far as to omit Latin quotations altogether.

A striking example of this practice may be seen in another MS of the "Sueño del Juicio final" now in the Real Academia de la Historia (Colección de Salazar y Castro, L-69, f. 45r). At the beginning of the "Juicio final" there are three short quotations in verse from writers other than Claudian, and in this MS, as in many others, such quotations are set off from the text in single lines. In MS L-69, however, the scribe copied only one of the three quotations, leaving large blank spaces for the other two. All of the Spanish text was copied, to the extent that a paragraph which ends ". . . en estos bersos:" is followed by a large blank space where the Latin verses belong.

In the case of the quotation from Claudian, MS 109 of the Biblioteca de Menéndez Pelayo clearly presents the only correct text, containing the two Latin verses from Claudian's Preface, and reading "Libro tercero" instead of "Libro segundo." The fact that all other known MSS differ from this one is simply further proof that changes and omissions in MSS are seldom repaired or restored in transmission.

Bibliographical Appendix

Since the purpose of this study is merely to separate the editions of Claudian which Quevedo may have used from those he did not use, I have not described each edition in full, nor have I tried to locate every known copy.

[12] *Obras de Lope de Vega*, ed. Real Academia Española (Madrid, 1899), x, 151a.

Sigla: BAV—Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
BLO—Bodleian Library, Oxford
BML—British Museum, London
BNP—Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris
BRG—Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit te Groningen
BRL—Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden
BSM—Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich
BVL—Bibliothèque de la Ville de Lyon
HCL—Harvard College Library, Cambridge
KBH—Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague
MIU—University of Michigan Library, Ann Arbor
NSU—Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitäts-bibliothek, Göttingen
UBA—Universiteits-Bibliotheek, Amsterdam
UCL—University of Chicago Library, Chicago
UIL—University of Illinois Library, Urbana

I

Editions of the type which Quevedo used

A. The Pulmann Series

1. Cl. Claudianus, Theodori Pulmanni Craneburgii diligentia et fide summa e vetustis codicibus restitutus.
Antuerpiae, ex officina Christophori Plantini, 1571. 353 pp. + [6].
Bound with the following notes:
Ad Cl. Claudiani viri clarissimi Opera Martini Antonii Del-Rio Notae.
Antuerpiae, ex officina Christophori Plantini, 1572. 80 pp. + [4].
Copies of both text and notes: BML, BNP, BRG, NSU, UIL.

Reprinted as follows:

2. Antuerpiae, ex officina Christophori Plantini, 1585. 351 pp. + [1] + 90 pp. + [6]. (HCL, NSU.)
3. Antuerpiae, ex officina Plantiniana, apud Viduam et Ioannem Moretum, 1596. 351 pp. + [1] + 90 pp. + [6]. (BLO, BRL, BSM, KBH, NSU.)
4. Antuerpiae, ex officina Plantiniana, apud Ioannem Moretum, 1602. 351 pp. + [1] + 90 pp. + [4]. (BML, BSM, UBA.)
5. Aurelia Allobrogum [i.e., Geneva], excudebat Petrus de la Rouiere, 1606. 346 pp. (HCL.)
6. Antuerpiae, ex officina Plantiniana, apud Ioannem Moretum, 1607. 351 pp. + 90 pp. + [2]. (BML, BSM, BNP, UIL.)

B. Collected with Other Authors

7. Corpus omnium veterum poetarum Latinorum.
Lugduni, 1603. (BLO.)
In this collection, Claudian's works occupy pp. 514-609 of volume II.

II

Editions which Quevedo did not use

A. The Gryphius Series

8. Cl. Claudiani, Poetae Celeberrimi Opera, quorum catalogum post eius vitam ex Petro Crinito ac Volaterrano reperies.
Lugduni [i.e., Lyon], apud Sebastianum Gryphium, 1535. 367 pp. (BNP, HCL.)

Reprinted as follows:

9. Lugduni, apud Sebastianum Gryphium, 1548. 367 pp. (UIL.)
10. Lugduni, apud Theobaldum Paganum, 1551. 344 pp. + [1]. (BML, BLO, BRL, KBH, UIL.)
11. Lugduni, apud Haeredos Sebastiani Gryphii, 1561. 368 pp. (KBH, UIL.)
12. Lugduni, apud Antonium Gryphium, 1589. 367 pp. (BNP.)
13. Lugduni, apud Antonium Gryphium, 1598. 367 pp. (BSM.)
14. Lugduni, apud Ioannem Pillehotte, 1603. 367 pp. (BNP, UCL.)
15. Lugduni, sumptibus Iacobi Roussin, 1606. 367 pp. (BRL, NSU, UCL.)

B. The Clavière Series

16. Cl. Claudiani, poetae in suo generis principis, Opera. . . . Cum annotationibus perpetuis Stephani Claverii.
Parisiis, apud Nicolaum Buon, 1602. [6] + 270 ff. + 75 ff. + [9]. (BML, BNP, BLO, HCL, NSU, UCL.)

Reprinted as follows:

17. Parisiis, apud Robertum Foüet, 1602. [6] + 270 ff. + 75 ff. + [8]. (BNP, BSM, BVL.)
18. Parisiis, apud Viduam Guiglielmi Chaudière, 1602. 270 ff. + 75 ff. + [8]. (BNP, BRL, BSM, MIU.)
19. Parisiis, apud Viduam Guiglielmi Chaudière, 1603. 270 ff. + 75 ff. + [8]. (BNP.)

C. The Scaliger Series

20. Cl. Claudiani quae exstant, ex emendatione virorum doctorum [i.e., Joseph Juste Scaliger].
    Lugduni Batavorum [Leyden], ex officina Plantiniana Christophori Raphelengii, 1603. 263 pp. (BNP, BSM, UCL.)

Reprinted as follows:

21. Lugduni Batavorum, ex officina Plantiniana Christophori Raphelengii, 1606. 263 pp. (BNP, BSM, UCL.)
22. Lugduni Batavorum, ex officina Plantiniana Christophori Raphelengii, 1607. 263 pp. (BSM.)

Probably reprinted as follows:

23. Flexiae [i.e., La Flèche, prov. Sarthe], apud J. Rezé, 1607. 296 ff. (BNP.)

III. Unidentified Edition

24. Parisiis, apud S. Colinaeum, 1590. I have not seen a copy of this edition, which is mentioned by Hans Matthäus Gesner, ed. *Cl. Claudiani quae exstant* (Leipzig, 1759), I, xvii. Peter Burmann states that the 1590 edition follows an earlier one printed by Colinaeus in Paris in 1530 (ed. *Claudi Claudiani Opera Omnia*, London, 1821, III, 1755). In the 1530 edition, the Preface "Omnia quae sensu . . ." is printed twice: once with the "De Sexto Consulatu Honorii Augusti," and again with the "De Raptu Proserpinae," Book III.

Some Notes on the Text of Faulkner's *Sanctuary*

By James B. Meriwether

THIS article is concerned with some corrections that have been made in America in the published text of William Faulkner's novel *Sanctuary*, with some apparent errors which are still uncorrected in that text, and with some changes made in the text by the novel's English publishers.

I

Sanctuary was first published on 9 Feb. 1931, by the firm of Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith of New York. A year later[1] it was issued by the Modern Library, printed from the original plates but with the addition of an introduction by the author in which he explained how he had originally conceived and written it as a potboiling shocker, only to have it rejected by the publisher. This was in the spring or early summer of 1929.[2] Later the publisher changed his mind, and after the publication of both *The Sound and the Fury* (Oct. 1929) and *As I Lay Dying* (Oct. 1930) Faulkner received the galley proof of *Sanctuary*. He then realized, Faulkner explained in the Modern Library introduction, "that it was so terrible that there were but two

[1] Publication dates of all American editions of Faulkner listed in this article are taken from James B. Meriwether, *William Faulkner: A Check List*, Princeton: Princeton University Library, 1957.

[2] In the introduction to the Modern Library issue, Faulkner states that it "was in the summer of 1929" that *Sanctuary* was rejected by the publisher. Faulkner dated a typescript of the original version "January—May, 1929" on the title-page and "25 May, 1929" on the last page of the text (see Meriwether, *The Literary Career of William Faulkner*, Princeton: Princeton University Library, 1961, p. 66). According to the late Saxe Commins, who edited a number of Faulkner's books at Random House before his death in 1958, the Random House records show that Cape and Smith gave Faulkner a contract for *Sanctuary* on 6 May 1929 (information provided March 1957). Since this date presumably precedes any opportunity the publisher would have had of examining the completed novel, it may represent a preliminary drawing up of a contract not to go into effect until the manuscript had been read and approved.

things to do: tear it up or rewrite it." He chose rewriting, "trying to make out of it something which would not shame *The Sound and the Fury* and *As I Lay Dying* too much. . . ." The rewriting was a major undertaking, and an expensive one, the cost of which he had to share, since the book had already been set in type.[3]

In the Faulkner collection at the University of Texas Library is the set of proofs which Faulkner reworked by cutting out large chunks of the galleys, writing new sections, wholly rewriting or partially revising others, and rearranging the order in which much of the action is unfolded. These galleys reveal how profoundly the changes affected the novel in nearly every way—in theme and structure as well as in general quality.[4] As Faulkner told an audience in Japan in 1955, the original version had been a "base and cheap one, which I went to what sacrifice I could in more money than I could afford, rather than to let it pass. . . . [The published version] was one that I did everything possible to make it as honest and as moving and to have as much significance as I could put into it."[5]

Despite the revision, the book retained many of the aspects of a shocker, but the resulting notoriety doubtless did not damage its sales, and it was reprinted five times within six months of its publication.[6]

[3] Faulkner stated in the Modern Library introduction that "It had been already set up once, so I had to pay for the privilege of rewriting it. . . ." On two recent occasions he has said that he divided the costs equally with the publisher, and that his half was $270. (See *Faulkner at Nagano*, ed. R. A. Jelliffe, Tokyo: Kenkyusha, Ltd., 1956, pp. 63-64, and *Faulkner in the University*, edd. F. L. Gwynn and J. L. Blotner, Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1959, pp. 90-91.) Of course, it is possible that Faulkner's memory, more than twenty-five years after the event, might not be entirely accurate; several details of his account in *Faulkner in the University* of the writing and publication of *Sanctuary* are not consistent with his account in the Modern Library introduction.

[4] These galleys were shown at the Faulkner Exhibition at the University of Texas Library in the fall of 1959. See Meriwether, *William Faulkner: An Exhibition of Manuscripts*, [Austin:] The Research Center of the University of Texas, 1959, pp. 7, 13-14, for an illustration from and brief listing of the galleys and related material, including an unrevised set of the original galleys. Linton Massey, who owns another set of the unrevised galleys, has described them in an article, "Notes on the Unrevised Galleys of Faulkner's *Sanctuary*," in *Studies in Bibliography*, VIII (1956), [195]-208, which includes a useful two-part table showing the relationship between the original and revised versions, chapter by chapter.

[5] *Faulkner at Nagano*, p. 65.

[6] On the copyright page of the sixth printing of *Sanctuary* appears the information that the second and third printings were made in February, 1931; the fourth in March; the fifth in April; and the sixth in July. That no more impressions were made from the plates by Cape and Smith may be inferred from the fact that a copy of the book with the imprint

Later on it became a staple of the Modern Library list, going through a number of impressions and staying almost continuously in print.[7]

These circumstances of the writing and publication of *Sanctuary* may help explain several facts about errors in the text of the novel which have been revealed by a close reading of the book made while collating three of its printed versions.[8] Such a reading of nearly any novel will reveal its fair share of uncorrected printer's errors, inconsistencies of usage and styling, and other minor textual irregularities which more careful copy editing and proofreading would have eliminated. But such a reading of *Sanctuary* reveals far more than that novel's share of such errors, at least in comparison with other Faulkner books written at about the same time, when he seems as a rule to have been more careful in reading his proofs.[9] It is reasonable to suppose that Faulkner, concerned primarily with the larger problems of his full-scale rewriting of the novel, did not give the galleys as careful a reading as he might, and it is possible that the publisher, with an abnormally high printer's bill on his hands, might not have been as willing to have his staff devote to the book the extra attention which would in consequence have been necessary to eliminate an abnormal crop of errors.

Whatever their reason for being overlooked before the novel's pub-

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of Smith and Haas, successors to Cape and Smith, contains the same printing history on the copyright page, though it includes the Modern Library introduction. The Smith and Haas is undoubtedly an impression later than the sixth, and even later than the first Modern Library impression, which has the introduction on three pages. Later Modern Library impressions, and the only copy of the Smith and Haas issue I have seen, have the introduction on four pages.

[7] The availability of the Modern Library issue of *Sanctuary* from 1932 through 1960 has been determined by a check of the appropriate volumes of *The Publishers' Trade List Annual*, which is on the whole a reliable guide, though the books it lists may not always be available from the publisher throughout the entire year in question.

[8] This collation was undertaken as part of the research for a bibliography of Faulkner's writings which I am compiling. The three texts collated completely were the first American printing, the first English printing (London: Chatto and Windus, 1931), and a recent Modern Library printing. Other editions and printings referred to in this article were merely spot checked to see if they contained corrections of textual errors, and to determine upon what text they were based.

[9] Faulkner's care in correcting proofs at that time can be inferred not only by the relative lack of printer's errors in *Sartoris*, *The Sound and the Fury*, and *As I Lay Dying*, all three published during the two-year period preceding the publication of *Sanctuary*, but also by examining the corrected galleys of *Light in August* and *Pylon*, the two which followed it, in the Faulkner Collection at the University of Texas Library.

lication, a score of errors in the text of *Sanctuary* were later corrected by means of changes in the plates. This fact emerges from the collation of a copy of the first printing with a recent Modern Library impression, and a check of intermediate impressions reveals that all but one of the changes were made before the plates were taken over by the Modern Library. In some ways even more significant than the number of corrections is the fact that nearly sixty demonstrable errors still remain, and perhaps as many more possible errors also demand consideration.

Though the number of these errors and inconsistencies in the text may fairly be called excessive, they are without exception unimportant. Not one of them really affects the interpretation of the passage in which it occurs, and few of them are obvious enough to call attention to themselves in the course of an ordinary reading of the work.[10] But Faulkner's fiction has become subject to such close critical scrutiny now that it is informative to make such an examination as this of the state of the text of any of his novels, and to see what can be learned of his practice in correcting that text, once it has been published.

II

Listed in Table A below are those changes and corrections which have been made in the plates of the Cape and Smith—Modern Library edition of *Sanctuary*. Nineteen of the twenty were made in the fourth printing; that is, none of them is present in the third printing, nineteen are present in the fourth. The exception is the correction of "Massanet" to "Massenet" on p. 379, which was not made until a Modern Library impression about 1938 or 1939.[11]

[10] In two such "ordinary" readings, for instance, I noted only three errors.

[11] This correction does not appear in the first Modern Library printing, which is identified on the copyright page. Subsequent Modern Library printings are not so identified, but can be dated roughly by binding, advertisements for other Modern Library titles, and type damage. According to such evidence, the correction was made before 1940, when a change was made in the general style of the bindings, and after at least one, perhaps more, impressions subsequent to the first in Modern Library.

TABLE A

Corrections Made in Published Text of *Sanctuary*

	page	*line*	*original reading*	*revised reading*
(1)	23	6	can't	cant
(2)	23	13	making and a run	making a run
(3)	48	29	sedgment	segment
(4)	111	26	rocochet	ricochet
(5)	129	5	Popeye	Tommy
(6)	131	4	can't	cant
(7)	131	10	oldest	older
(8)	131	11	cover	covers
(9)	211	8	were	where
(10)	216	23	keep of	keep up
(11)	304	29	hostless	hostess
(12)	331	7	known	know
(13)	337	21	head and heads	heads and heads
(14)	348	19	make	made
(15)	354	22	sound, of	sound of
(16)	363	25	house; he	house—he
(17)	363	26	such; left	such—left
(18)	379	18	Massanet	Massenet

In addition to the above textual corrections, two changes were made which involved the spacing of the lines or the number of lines on the type page:

(19) 209 29 [*line begins:* accommodate you] [entire line transposed to top of p. 210; last line of 210 (*begins:* into Jefferson) transposed to top of 211, and lines 21-25 of 211 reset as four lines instead of five]

(20) 378 23-24 [*line 23 begins:* "Sure] [both lines transposed upward to eliminate space between lines 22 and 23; first line (*begins:* father passed) of 379 transposed to bottom of 378, and first line of 380 (*begins:* stick, the) transposed to bottom of 379]

Thirteen of the first eighteen of these corrections are the sort that might reasonably be made by a publisher without consulting the author, though it would be more usual to obtain his approval. The two

involving the word "can't" were changed to conform to Faulkner's usual practice of eliminating the apostrophe from ain't, can't, don't, and won't.[12] Four of them (3, 4, 11, 18) are corrections of unmistakable misspellings. Four (9, 10, 12, 14) can and should, it is clear from their contexts, be corrected according to the rules of grammar—there is no reason to suppose that they are intended to be colloquialisms or idiosyncrasies of style. It is also clear from the context that "Popeye" on p. 129, l. 5, cannot be correct, and that almost certainly it should be "Tommy" instead. Numbers 2 and 13 are not susceptible to quite the same degree of proof from context or rules of grammar, but most editors would probably not hesitate to make the changes.

The two changes involving spacing (19 and 20) might originate with either author or publisher, though it would be more likely that someone connected with the printing and publishing end of the business would notice the unequal number of lines on the facing pp. 208 and 209, or the space between ll. 22 and 23 on p. 378, which is typographically ugly and inconsistent with the use of the same amount of space on the same page, between ll. 24 and 25, where it accompanies a chronological break.

The other five corrections are of a different sort. Numbers 15, 16, and 17 represent improvements on an originally somewhat awkward punctuation, but Faulkner is a consistent experimenter with punctuation, and there are other awkward examples, uncorrected, in *Sanctuary*. Numbers 7 and 8 are hardly corrections, in a strict sense, for the original readings, though more colloquial, are not inappropriate to Benbow. These, one would suppose, may well represent authorial revisions.

Fortunately, it is not necessary to rely upon conjecture to explain the origin of most of these changes. Evidence has come to light, in the form of an unbound copy of the first impression of *Sanctuary* with man-

[12] These shortened forms occur first in the published text of Faulkner's novels in *The Sound and the Fury* and he and his publishers have adhered to the practice ever since, though not without the inevitable slips produced by printers accustomed to the usual forms plus less than perfect proofreading. Faulkner may have had a discouraging time convincing his publishers about this practice; the manuscripts and typescripts of his three novels that preceded *The Sound and the Fury* show that he omitted the apostrophes from the beginning of his career as a novelist, though they appear in the published texts. (See Meriwether, *The Literary Career of William Faulkner*, figs. 5, 6, and 9, for reproductions of manuscript or typescript pages from Faulkner's first three novels which illustrate this point.)

uscript corrections,[13] that Faulkner's attention was called to fourteen of the errors, and that he approved all fourteen of the editorial suggestions for their correction, and added one further correction of his own. Presumably this copy was sent to Faulkner with some sort of accompanying letter, but the evidence of the book by itself is clear. On the outside of the copy an editorial hand listed the ten page numbers where occur the following corrections from Table A: 1-4, 6-8, 10, 13-17, and 20. On the pages indicated, the errors had been marked, with corrections suggested where necessary. Faulkner, dealing with the questions as briefly as possible, indicated his acceptance of each of the fourteen suggestions on the appropriate page, and added one more correction (5) himself, inserting its page number in the list on the outside of the copy, with an apology for not returning it sooner.

This is a valuable piece of evidence, despite the relative unimportance of the changes. Obviously Faulkner was not only willing to accept the changes of obvious mistakes, but also editorial suggestions concerning his punctuation (15, 16, 17) and the language of one of his characters (7, 8). Significant too is the random nature of the corrections, on the part of publisher and author alike. The large number of errors remaining in the book is sufficient proof that no uniform effort was made to discover them by anyone concerned. Negative evidence is the nature of the corrections (9, 11, 12, 19) which were made in the same printing of the novel, but which were not included among those in that unbound copy. Since all of them are obvious, it may well be that they were corrected without referring them to the author, especially since he had displayed his willingness to make that kind of correction in fifteen instances. And on the other hand they may have been submitted to him on another occasion.

The significance of the changes is enhanced when they are checked against the revised galleys of the novel at Texas. These reveal that eight of the errors (3, 4, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 18) occurred in the original galleys sent to Faulkner by the publisher and remained uncorrected thereafter. Six of the errors (5, 7, 8, 15, 16, 17) occurred in Faulkner's typed additions to the galleys when he revised them; pre-

[13] I am greatly indebted to Mrs. Louis H. Cohn, of the House of Books, Ltd., for permitting me to examine and take notes upon this copy of *Sanctuary* in June 1960. Though lacking its outer casing of boards, and with top edges untrimmed and unstained, it was complete with endpapers.

sumably 5 represents the ordinary sort of author's oversight that good copy editing is supposed to catch, but the other five, which were acceptable if less smooth in their uncorrected state, indicate positively Faulkner's willingness to accept editorial changes, as in all of them he followed the editorial suggestions on the unbound copy of the novel. Three of the errors (2, 6, 20) were made in setting type from the revised galleys, and the typescript additions to the galleys bear the correct readings. (Presumably their later correction represents only the discovery of the errors from the text of the published book alone, not a belated checking with copy.) Two of the errors (1, 12) were made in resetting lines containing other errors in the original galleys.

III

In Table B below are listed obvious errors which still remain in the published Modern Library text of *Sanctuary*, with suggested corrections. Most of the corrections are self-explanatory, but in cases where the error is one only of consistency, page references are given to other occurrences of the same usage in the book. In every such case, the usage occurring less frequently is listed as the error, and reference is made to the more usual usage as the correct reading. Of course, it may be argued that repeated oversight on the part of the author resulted in a higher number of occurrences for the usage which he would agree to be in error, but this question cannot be settled without further evidence than that available for this study. It is sufficient in this table to call attention to the discrepancy which constitutes the error, and to adhere for consistency's sake to the rule that the greater number of occurrences of the usage in question is to be considered the preferred one.

TABLE B

Errors in Published Text of *Sanctuary*

	page	*line*	*present reading*	*suggested reading*
(1)	4	13	whiskey	whisky [pp. 37, 65, 113, 193, 199]
(2)	10	14	Manuel street	Manuel Street [p. 9]
(3)	15	6	it is	is it
(4)	19	26	said. What	said. "What
(5)	20	20-21	orange stick	orange-stick [pp. 129, 143]
(6)	26	23	don't	dont

(7)	48	8	Mrs.	Mrs
(8)	85	17	Mr.	Mr
(9)	91	17	eye	eyes
(10)	108	13	weed-chocked	weed-choked
(11)	133	17	stactic	static
(12)	140	24	Mrs.	Mrs
(13)	148	3	Goodnight	Good-night [pp. 359, 360 (*twice*)]
(14)	149	2	heaven tree	heaven-tree [pp. 136, 148, 164]
(15)	160	2	heaven tree	heaven-tree [*see above*]
(16)	175	28	ain't	aint
(17)	180	2	additudes	attitudes
(18)	184	13	don't	dont
(19)	185	20	don't	dont
(20)	186	4	stoginess	stodginess
(21)	189	8	striken	stricken
(22)	197	21	"That	That
(23)	197	25	don't	dont
(24)	200	26	court-house	courthouse [pp. 337, 349]
(25)	210	11[14]	Any time	Anytime [pp. 209, 211]
(26)	222	19	district attorney	District Attorney [pp. 222, 223, 314, 316, *etc.*]
(27)	226	4	parrafin	paraffin
(28)	227	16	don't	dont
(29)	229	24	Don't	Dont
(30)	230	15	seven	six
(31)	232	11	'We'll	"We'll
(32)	234	14	Don't	Dont
(33)	237	13	Don't	Dont
(34)	237	15	somehing	something
(35)	237	24	Fonzo.	Fonzo
(36)	250	13	don't	dont
(37)	250	21	don't	dont
(38)	261	11	"Canteen?'	"Canteen?"
(39)	272	4	ain't	aint
(40)	273	16	Poyeye	Popeye
(41)	294	5	don't	dont
(42)	294	20	To	to
(43)	295	13	don't	dont

[14] Line 11 only of the fourth Cape and Smith, and later, printings; line 10 of the first three printings. (See correction 19, Table A.)

(44)	296	29	Don't	Dont
(45)	298	7	crap table	crap-table [pp. 286, 290, 292]
(46)	300	19	hankerchief	handkerchief
(47)	309	3	*ashamed?*	*ashamed?*
(48)	316	21	were	weren't
(49)	322	23	said, He	Said. He
(50)	324	29	man.	man."
(51)	331	7	don't	dont
(52)	332	19	calender	calendar
(53)	341	2	Mr.	Mr
(54)	345	27	honor	Honor [pp. 324, 339, 346, *etc.*]
(55)	352	15	corn cob	corn-cob [pp. 340, 345]
(56)	374	24	ben	been
(57)	376	21	won't	wont
(58)	376	22	Don't	Dont

These demonstrable errors fall into four categories, of which the largest comprises errors of consistency. A number of these are simply deviations from Faulkner's predilection, noted in Table A, for omitting the periods and apostrophes from contractions like Mr. and don't. Other inconsistencies, as was explained above, can be resolved by submitting to a majority rule. A second category is formed by simple spelling errors, like stactic, additudes, and somehing (10, 17, 34). A third includes those errors in grammar or punctuation which, it is clear from the context, cannot be intentional, like the instances (31, 38) where single quotation marks are used at one end and double marks at the other in dialogue. A final category here is formed by an error (30) in the chronology, where the time is given as "almost seven oclock" when only a few minutes can have passed since it was five thirty (see p. 229). In a novel of broken time sequence like *Sanctuary* such errors are easy to make and hard to detect, and there may be others which were not discovered in the process of the collation which formed the basis for this article.

It is useful to check the revised galleys of *Sanctuary* at Texas to see what light they shed upon these errors. As was the case with some of the corrected errors listed in Table A, several of those in Table B occurred in the original galleys of the book, and in the confusion of the process of wholesale revision, were simply overlooked. Examples are errors 11, 12, and 17. One example (16), correct in the original gal-

leys, occurred in a line which required resetting, and managed to remain undetected through the later stages of proofreading. Several errors occurred in setting lines from Faulkner's typescript additions to the revised galleys, and collation with that text proves the necessity of correcting the published book. Examples are 3, 4, 6, 22, and 49. Two of the errors, however (24 and 26), occur in the typed additions to the galleys, and the correction has to be made on the basis of consistency with the predominant usage of the book.

A large number of possible errors in the text of this book were considered before confining the list in Table B to fifty-eight "demonstrable" ones. Those omitted from the table were ones which might reasonably be attributed to a feature of the author's style, or to his way of rendering dialect or some unusual pronunciation of a character. Depending upon the publisher, the editor, the author, and upon the availability of the author, these are points about which an editor might query the author, or make the decision himself. At least as many such examples exist in the text as are listed in Tables A and B, but it would be pointless to call attention to all of them here. A few examples will suffice. On p. 64, l. 28, Temple Drake refers to the "governor's soldiers"; three lines above, she sobs out, as she refers to the governor, that the "gu-govenor comes to our house to e-eat." In the latter instance, is the omission of the first "r" from "governor" a mistake, or is the omission supposed to be another phonetic indication of her state of stress? (The same spelling occurs in the revised galleys.) On p. 136, ll. 21-22, Goodwin makes the statement "I aint going say what I think." Does the omission of the "to" from the infinitive indicate an error on the part of the author or a colloquialism on the part of the character? On four occasions (pp. 215, l. 11; 235, l. 27; 252, l. 23; 335, l. 4) in the text there occurs a quotation which we would expect to be set off from its speaker's "he said" by a comma, but which is set off by a period. That on p. 215 reads: "He said. 'If you'll . . . .' " This particular example occurs with the same punctuation on one of Faulkner's typed additions to the galleys; the other three appear on unrevised portions of the galleys. Do they represent typing errors on the part of the author, or a feature of his style?[15]

[15] Examination of a sufficient number of Faulkner's manuscripts and typescripts might supply answers to these questions, if he himself has followed a consistent pattern. Published

IV

The first English edition of *Sanctuary* was, in contrast to the American, carefully copy edited and proofread. Only a relatively small handful of inconsistencies mar the text, such as barefoot (pp. 7, 17) and bare-foot (p. 42, twice), and there are practically none of the errors, whether of spelling, grammar, or punctuation, which so often occur in the American edition, and which can be proved wrong by their context. Many of the errors listed in Tables A and B were corrected. Had similar care been used in the preparation for publication of the American edition, there would have been no occasion for the first three sections of this article.

The original English text of *Sanctuary* is nevertheless a bad one, and for two reasons, one to be expected, the other not. The expected reason is the changes in the text that are nearly inevitable when a different publisher in a different country is faced with the task of reproducing such a work. There are literally hundreds of editorial changes made in the English text, of such a minor nature as not to modify the reading in all but a very few instances, but striking in their total effect. These range from the hyphenation of words printed as one in the American text (halfway becomes half-way, midafternoon becomes mid-afternoon), to the restoration of the omitted apostrophes and periods in Faulkner's contractions, and the conventional Anglicization of such words as gray, color, and plow to grey, colour, and plough. Dozens of changes are made in Faulkner's punctuation, not so serious a matter, perhaps, considering Faulkner's willingness to accept editorial corrections as demonstrated in Table A, but sufficient to make clear that in this case no policy was being adhered to at Chatto and Windus of following copy strictly.

It is the unexpected reason, however, that produces the important flaw in the English text of *Sanctuary*. At twenty-two points the text of the original English edition of the novel has been bowdlerized, in

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versions are less useful because of copy editing and emendation by printers and proofreaders. In *The Sound and the Fury*, for instance, there are a number of occurrences of this same apparent inconsistency, even within the same paragraph, of setting off a quotation from its adjunctive "he said" by either a period or a comma, indiscriminately. It appears probable that at this period of his career Faulkner often used the period, and that the inconsistency in the usage in the published text of his novels derives at least in part from the substitution of the usual commas by editors and printers.

twenty-one of them simply by omitting (with appropriate changes in the punctuation) a total of 325 words from the American text, in one by substituting one word for four. Together, they represent a substantial toning down of the more violent portions of the novel, a process calculated to make it more acceptable to the squeamish reader without modifying in any important way the action or the meaning.

These changes are listed below in Table C. The page and line references are given first for the American edition, followed by those of the first English edition. The longer omissions are indicated by quoting only their first few words, followed, in brackets, by the number of additional words (counting contractions as one word) which comprise the omission.

TABLE C

Bowdlerizations in Original English Text of *Sanctuary*

American edition	*First English edition*	*passage omitted in English edition*
168, 7-8	139, 5	It's down [*five words*]
168, 16-19	139, 11-12	It's all [*twenty-two words*]
173, 10-11	143, 8	I bled [*four words*]
173, 12-15	143, 9	and Minnie'll [*twenty-two words*]
175, 22-23	145, 6	Seem like that [*eight words*]
261, 15-22	217, 7	I was thinking [*seventy words*]
262, 26-27	218, 2-3	Then it got [*seven words*]
263, 2-3	218, 7	his hand was [*eight words*]
263, 20	218, 22	doing it
263, 24	218, 26	and me [*seven words*]
264, 12-16	219, 10	It made a kind [*twenty-six words*]
264, 18-22	219, 12	I could feel [*thirty-three words*]
264, 23	219, 13	even
264, 23-24	219, 13	until [*four words*]
264, 24-26	219, 13	I couldn't even [*fourteen words*]
278, 17-18	230, 24	No wonder [*four words*]
287, 24-25	238, 13	as she [*five words*]
287, 27	238, 15	her hips [*three words*]
309, 29—310, 2	257, 1	and that when [*sixteen words*]

311, 28	258, 21	nekkid as two snakes [*replaced by word:* kissing]
352, 24-25	294, 4	Jeez [*six words*]
355, 22-23	296, 14	Only we never [*twelve words*]

That these changes were not undertaken without Faulkner's permission is shown by a letter from his English to his American publishers, the year after the publication of *Sanctuary*, in which it is stated that "the spelling was anglicized and a few minor excisions were made with the consent of the author."[16] The bowdlerized text received further currency the following year when Chatto and Windus issued the novel in their Phoenix Library reprint series. The original text was not made available in Britain until 1952, when Chatto and Windus brought out *Sanctuary* in their "Uniform Edition" of Faulkner. For this purpose sheets were imported from Sweden, where in 1947 the Continental Book Company had published the novel in their Zephyr series of English-language books, and had followed the original American text. In 1957, when a second printing of the Chatto and Windus "Uniform Edition" *Sanctuary* was required, the text was reproduced by photo-offset from the Zephyr printing.[17] In the meantime, however, the bowdlerized text had received further currency in Britain when Penguin Books, in their 1953 paperback edition of the novel, followed the original English text.

V

In general, the bibliographical examination of the English texts of twentieth-century American prose writers is one of literary scholarship's untilled fields. That this field can prove to be a fruitful one is indicated by the case of *Sanctuary*. The vicissitudes of its text in Eng-

[16] I am indebted to Chatto and Windus, Limited, for permission to quote from this letter. Dated 7 Mar. 1932, it is addressed to the firm of Harrison Smith, Inc. According to H. S. Boutell, *First Editions of Today*, 3d. ed., rev. and enl. by Roger Boutell, University of California Press, 1949, pp. 17 and 97, this firm was organized in November, 1931, as one of the two successors to the original publisher of *Sanctuary*, Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith, Inc. (The other was Jonathan Cape and Robert Ballou, Inc.) Harrison Smith, Inc. went out of business some time in March, 1932, and became Harrison Smith and Robert Haas, Inc., which published Faulkner's next novel, *Light in August*, later in 1932.

[17] Mrs. Norah Smallwood of Chatto and Windus kindly supplied the information in this paragraph on the Zephyr and "Uniform Edition" text of *Sanctuary*.

land shed some interesting light on modern publishing practices, and the difference between the versions available to reviewers and readers in the two countries, when the book appeared in 1931, may well have affected its reception. Since the sex and violence of the American version were somewhat toned down for the English public, we might expect its reception in Britain to have lacked some of the reaction of outrage that in some quarters attended its publication here. On the other hand, if such an investigation showed that the reception was approximately the same in both countries, it would tend to justify the course followed by the English publisher, and to indicate that the British public, or its book reviewers, or perhaps its government censors, were more squeamish than their American counterparts in 1931.[18]

But of more significance for the Faulkner scholar than the history of *Sanctuary* in Britain is the evidence provided by the errors in the American edition, and their correction, or the failure to correct them. The special circumstances of the novel's original writing and publication go far toward accounting for the number of errors in the text as it was first published, but why, in the face of the publisher's recorded willingness to make plate changes, have only a quarter of the demonstrable errors been corrected, and all but one of these in the first six months of the thirty years that have elapsed since publication? It is clear that Faulkner himself was rather careless, if understandably so, in correcting printer's errors in the proofs; that the novel received rather slipshod copy editing; and that neither author nor publisher has taken a careful look at the novel's text since the correction of errors for the fourth printing in 1931. Only further studies of this sort will put into proper perspective these textual problems in *Sanctuary*, but unless its case is unique, such studies will have much of value to tell us about the text of our more important twentieth-century writers of fiction.

[18] The problem is complicated by the possibility of British readers and reviewers using the unexpurgated text. The Crosby Continental edition (Paris, 1932), for instance, was based on the American edition.

A Pair of Bibliomanes for Kansas: Ralph Ellis and Thomas Jefferson Fitzpatrick*

By Robert Vosper

Of several collectors whose books have come *en bloc* to the University of Kansas, two present classical cases of galloping bibliomania, Ralph N. Ellis, Jr., and Thomas Jefferson Fitzpatrick. A third, the legendary *bon vivant* Logan Clendening, was infected with the disease, but apparently the Doctor's remarkable skill as a diagnostician prevented his own case from running its full course. And a fourth, P. S. O'Hegarty of Dublin, had at one time been a professional bookseller, thereby of course acquiring permanent immunity by way of early inoculation with a pure strain of the virus.

The dramatically sudden, almost unexpected arrival of Ralph Ellis in Lawrence with his books early in March 1945 was but one of a series of tempestuous episodes in his short and bitter life. But the City of Lawrence was ill prepared to deal with a way of life that had repeatedly startled the sophisticated San Francisco Bay area for two decades. The University of Kansas and its Library had not yet begun the postwar drive toward excellence, and the heavy hands of prohibition and dust-bowl economy still weighed on the community spirit. Thus the quixotic events of the next ten months, as the Ellis case approached its tragic climax, have become almost a folk legend in Lawrence.

The size and importance of the Ralph Ellis Library in itself were startling enough. The myth says several freight cars full of books; the way bills, sufficiently impressive, indicate one fifty-foot car and one forty-foot car, both "loaded to capacity." The reporters, abetted I fear by Mr. Ellis, spoke of 65,000 volumes; for volumes you may

* Mr. Vosper's paper was read, in slightly different form, to a meeting of the Society held at the Rowfant Club in Cleveland on 10 July. Mr. Nebenzahl's and Mr. Kaser's papers, presented on the same occasion, will appear in our Fourth Quarter issue.—Ed.

fairly read "items," but the quantity is still significant. The same reporters, again no doubt recording what they heard, said: "probably the largest and most valuable collection of books on birds and mammals under private ownership in the world." Today, after time for advice and reflection, we are still sufficiently impressed to say: "probably the largest and most important library of its kind in private hands in this country at that time, and meriting favorable comparison with such other famous collections of ornithologia as those of Edward E. Ayer, William R. Coe, John C. Phillips, Frederic Gallatin, John E. Thayer, Major William Mullens, and William C. Braislin." Within that company, however, the Ellis collection now at Kansas stands out for the impassioned, almost violent haste of its creation. In fact that phrase, "impassioned, almost violent haste," marks the whole Ellis career.

Ralph N. Ellis, Jr., was born June 15, 1908, in Jericho, near Oyster Bay, Long Island, the only child of a wealthy fox-hunting yachtsman and socialite who was already fifty years old when his namesake was born. The boy's early life was spent in a seasonal cycle among the family estates in Camden (South Carolina), Jericho, and York Harbor (Maine). Afflicted from birth with obscure, debilitating physical and psychic ills, he was cosseted by his family and by nurses and governesses even more than might have been expected in his family circumstances. And since the presence of all three of the family seemed seldom to coincide at any one residence, Ralph, Jr., was all the more left in tutorial hands.

Fortunately his father's aristocratic sporting habits, together with the semi-rural setting of the family estates, seem to have fostered young Ralph's early interest in natural history. In 1920 at the age of twelve he had been granted a South Carolina license to collect birds' eggs and nests, and very quickly this common boyish hobby was pursued with precocious concentration and skill. Shortly thereafter Mrs. Ellis moved with her son to Berkeley, California, which thereupon became the primary home of this migratory family. In a letter to his father, who remained much of the time in Jericho, following the disastrous Berkeley fire of 1923 in which the Ellis home was among many destroyed, Ralph, Jr., revealed his frantic concern for the fate of his neatly tagged and numbered birds, nests, and eggs. "I then looked for

my green desk," he said, "and the Audobon (*sic*) and Ridgway. I had no hope of finding Audobon, but thought I might find Ridgway. The green desk contained eggs and I hoped to find them. . . . None of my birds were hurt, neither were my nests, but my eggs and books are gone. . . . I have an idea that they were saved but think the books were stolen. . . . I am going to spend the $20 on skinning tools and buying other scales and things I cannot do without."

In that same fifteenth year he began a number of durable friendships with senior men at the University of California's famous Museum of Vertebrate Zoology. That relationship, and the particular advice of California's distinguished zoologist, Professor Joseph Grinnell, led Ralph's mother a few years later to employ a capable graduate student, Mr. Adrey E. Borell, who later went on to a successful career as a biologist with the federal government, as a regular scientific mentor and companion for her clever but erratic son. This seemed wiser than an attempt to round out his several incomplete semesters between 1928 and 1931 at the University of California with a standard education, and the arrangement with Mr. Borell turned out to be one of the most steadying factors in Ralph's life. The two went on field trips into the California and Nevada mountains, collaborated in scientific articles,[1] and hired a number of professional hunters to assist in building two scientific collections of permanent value: a collection of several thousand bird skins now at the Museum of Vertebrate Zoology in Berkeley and another of about 2,800 small mammal skins now in the Museum of Natural History of the University of Kansas.

The climax to this side of Ralph Ellis' collecting came during 1931-32, after an abortive semester as a Harvard student. With a small group of other students he joined the Harvard Zoological Expedition to Australia under the leadership of Harvard's Professor W. W. Wheeler. This promising experience, like so many other episodes in Ellis' life, ended prematurely in a sudden violent flareup of temper and flurry of telegrams. Ellis' stated reason for this hasty change of plans reveals two compelling factors in his attitude throughout his life, his distressingly bad health and an overriding sense of persecution. In his opinion he "was obviously being followed night and

[1] See particularly their "Mammals of the Ruby Mountains Region of Northeastern Nevada," *Jour. Mammalogy* XV (Feb. 1934), 12-44.

day by Ira Dixson M.D. even for two weeks personal vacation." It appears that Dr. Dixson had been sent on the expedition by Ellis' mother, and for good reasons. A pathetic letter from Ellis himself to Professor Wheeler prior to the expedition explains: "I am always sick during one week in every three—this has been my condition for life."

Despite the assistance of a succession of medical doctors and psychiatrists this exhausting disability pursued him throughout the thirty-seven years of his life. The illness was diagnosed as "recurrent agranulocytosis," or "recurrent febrile attacks marked by a practical disappearance of the granulocytes (granular white blood cells)." The Ellis case was apparently "unique in medical literature."[2] This miserable condition not only left him easily subject to a variety of infections, but also accounted in large part for the markedly "unreasonable and unbalanced behavior of the boy during these attacks." It was assumed, though, that this latter aspect of his case had become consciously or subconsciously exaggerated because of the extent to which he had been humored at home.

The Australian venture was climactic in another way. Several years later in a letter to a fellow natural history collector Ralph Ellis said, "I have added no specimens to my collection since about 1931, but have been actively engaged in enlarging my library." Somewhere along the way the infection of the lost Audubon and Ridgway produced the other feverish disease that marked the young man's life.

Again his father may have had more influence than he knew, for a potted biography of Ralph Ellis, Sr., speaks of him as a "bibliophile," but of the father's books we know little more than this, although we may assume from his other interests that his was a purely gentlemanly approach. In the son, however, this inheritance burst into compelling vigor.

We know that Ralph, Jr., was buying books from Dawson's of Los Angeles as early as his fifteenth year, but his later correspondence regularly speaks of 1926, when he was eighteen, as the date of real beginning. In 1928 he wrote to Milton S. Ray of San Francisco, "I was delighted to note your interest in books on birds and mammals. I have been collecting these from time to time for the last two years and now

[2] For a clinical analysis of his case see Rutledge, Hansen-Prüss, and Thayer, "Recurrent Agranulocytosis," *Bull. Johns Hopkins Hospital* XLVI (June 1930), 369-89.

have the ordinary American works and several rarer items of more particular interest." Ray, it is worth noting, was later instrumental in presenting the John Henry Nash Library to the University of California at Berkeley.

In any event, from 1926 onwards Ralph Ellis assiduously maintained files of his incoming and outgoing correspondence—personal, business, and bookish—as well as detailed business records and notes of all sorts, so that in three well-stuffed four-drawer filing cabinets now at the University of Kansas we can follow his broadcast search for books and journals as well as the stormy details of his private and public life. There is in fact material for a far more precise and detailed study than this presentation permits.

In 1926 Ellis was "interested in enlarging [his] library of Natural Science books, especially those pertaining to Birds and Mammals." At the same time he began assiduously subscribing to scores of journals such as the one issued by the Mississippi Department of Conservation, joined dozens of societies such as the Linnean Society of New South Wales, and pieced together complete back files of periodicals such as *The Oölogist*. Eventually over 200 journals were coming to him regularly. Thus today his scientific journal collection of well over 5,000 bound volumes is a solid scholarly tool. This is supplemented by an extensive collection of American amateur bird society magazines.

By 1928 he had become interested in relevant scientific voyages early and late, eventually one of the more impressive and useful aspects of the total collection. Eight years later in writing to C. F. Heartman, Ellis indicated how deeply and widely his interests had led him: "I am accumulating an extensive (!) library on Vertebrate Zoology. In a broader sense, this may extend into any field, to wit: bibliography, exploration, Americana—especially all serials, etc." The Americana never really flourished; he did a superb job with the history of exploration, as has been mentioned; and he collected bibliography of all sorts as though he would seldom have access to a public research library.

By then (1936) his correspondence with British and American dealers must have been almost overwhelming, the variety is so great. Ralph Ellis never admitted one single dealer into his full confidence but dealt from the earliest days with great numbers in this country

and Great Britain. His European buying, however, was relatively slight. He was always deeply engaged with many other collectors in trading and selling duplicates. In 1935 he was writing frequently, for example, to that senior statesman, Dr. Casey A. Wood, about fine points in dating Catesby, about Ralph's cherished Guthrie's *Geography*, and about their mutual enthusiasm for the work of Captain Thomas Brown, which Dr. Wood declared to be "among the *rarissima*."

Sometime in the mid-1930's Ellis' collecting came into full bloom. This was helped in part by his first marriage in which for a brief time he found some encouragement in his overwhelming hobby and some sense of independence from his mother. More appreciably his collecting was furthered by changes in his financial status. On his death in 1930 the senior Ralph Ellis left an estate valued at over a million dollars, much of it tied up in land and in stocks at an awkward period in economic history, and much of Ralph, Jr.'s share therein tied up in trusts which began to come to him directly in 1933 when he reached the age of twenty-five. The Ellis financial story is as explosive and shifting as the whole of his life. As he so grossly but truthfully wrote to his friend Borell in 1940, "the financial background stinks."

On the one hand there are prolonged periods when he was cut off from almost all funds but determined to keep buying, so that we have record of vast numbers of threats and decisions by book dealers to put his account into the hands of collection agencies or of "our New York consulate," objections from his first wife for nonpayment of required alimony, refusals to issue credit cards in his name, and a note expelling him from a country club for nonpayment of dues. Most disturbing are his occasional desperate threats to sell all his books since he cannot afford to maintain them, and his worries about possible foreclosure of liens against them. The need for book money in larger and larger amounts became compulsive, and his well-developed sense of persecution soon led him into a crescendo of vindictive battles over money with his mother and other trustees.

On the other hand there are euphoric periods when bills for thousands of dollars and pounds sterling flow through his checkbooks with ease and frequency. In March 1936 he attended the auction of Dr. John Charles Phillips' bird books at the Anderson Galleries so successfully that his mother was forced to sell her custodian trust and a con-

siderable portion of the Jericho lands in order to bail him out from this and other involvements. From that springboard he leaped to England in April 1936 and stayed there until December 1937 on one great book-buying orgy, $63,000 worth he later declared. Writing to a Berkeley friend in January 1937 he exclaimed, "I am here in London having the time of my life." And surely he was, for this was another period of climax leading inevitably and quickly to the story of his crushing commitment, on his mother's request, to a Livermore, California, sanitarium as a "mentally ill" but not insane person.

His buying in London was varied and increasingly shrewd and farsighted. To Borell he wrote: "When I return I should have a good library and know something about the subject. London is the clearing house for books, and by doing things in a big way and attending auctions myself, I can really invest my money safely and have the pleasure of my books while I own them." He expected on return to the States to continue to buy books, "but they will probably have to be pretty rare ones." His purposeful accumulation of duplicates, with which his eventual library was fatly loaded, was clearly stated as a trading investment in the same letter: "I have immense numbers of duplicates to trade," he said, but, "experience and careful thinking have brought me to the conclusion never to sell for money . . . except directly through a dealer." At the same time he was pondering other extensions of his interest in natural history. "The vague possibility of writing some sort of bibliography is dawning," he wrote to another friend, "[or] perhaps I will go back to vertebrate zoology in some form or another." The advantages of possible affiliation with a museum or university, where his books might be housed and used in congenial circumstances, came frequently to his mind.

The biggest strike of his London stay centered in the basement stores of Henry Sotheran, Ltd., booksellers with whom Ellis did a heavy business. Following John Gould's death in 1881, Sotheran had bought "the Copyright and the whole remaining Stock of his works [consisting of] many hundred parcels, weighing upwards of thirty tons." This hoard lay in basement storage, almost forgotten for half a century, until a stock-taking beginning in 1934 led to the rediscovery of an immense quantity of Gouldiana:[3] multiple copies of the books,

[3] Henry Sotheran, Ltd. *Piccadilly Notes*, No. 9 [1934] and No. 22 [1937].

bound and unbound, plates in various states, manuscripts, original lithograph stones, and the like. Negotiations proceeded hot and heavy for the next several years, with Ellis desperately hoping actually to corner the market. In this he didn't fully succeed, but he did stockpile a tremendous quantity which he proposed to use over the years as a primary trading stock.[4] Certainly, judging from the prices he paid, this was a potentially lucrative investment.

But once again there was a cruel drop from an exciting pinnacle. On his return to Berkeley he was faced with divorce and oppressive financial troubles, all of which exacerbated the frenetic side of his character. Increasing alcoholism and a sequence of blatantly antisocial acts such as had checkered his whole career, finally led to the commitment to Livermore early in 1940. The story is a morbid and complicated one that need not be detailed here, but Ralph Ellis' own sardonic note to Adrey Borell bears repeating in this context: "A recent newspaper clipping pertains to THE MESS. There is a brand new law in California, and unique to California like the Townsend Plan . . . , which says that a person can be mentally ill and not insane. Believe it or not, I am the first victim of it, so am *editio princeps* in first, agranulocytosis; second, perhaps the largest bird library in the world; and third, THIS. It is to be hoped that like the NRA this law is no good." The succeeding five years were cruelly filled with a series of trials and retrials, bitter recriminations, and general lashings about at anyone and anything in sight. Gradually, however, the degree of legal repression was lessened so that he could be home for certain periods "to attend to his valuable book collection." Amidst all of this chaos he managed persistently to buy books, whether or not he could pay for them, to collate and annotate each one carefully in his scrawling hand, as always was his wont, to keep his notes and correspondence files in order, and to project a census of Gould materials in other hands.

In June 1943 when he became thirty-five he came into possession of more of his father's estate, including access to much of the principal. The result of course was another flurry of buying, including the complete private library of the recently deceased great naturalist C. Hart

[4] Gordon C. Sauer, M.D., "Gouldiana," *Books and Libraries at the University of Kansas* No. 12 (May 1956), 2-3. Dr. Sauer reports that, "To my knowledge the University of Kansas Library has the most extensive collection in existence illustrating these several steps [in the production of Gould's illustrations]."

Merriam, a scholarly collection in vertebrate natural history, and but one of at least three collections that he acquired *en bloc*. At the same time he secured greater legal freedom, married hastily a second time, and began to lay plans to leave California. This he managed in the autumn of 1944 when he and his new wife fled to Nevada, the scene of his boyhood collecting. The next few months passed in a whirl. He vigorously investigated the possibility of depositing his library at several institutions, from New York to California, and wondered seriously about going into the book business with his duplicates, either from a shop in New York or by mail order. His wife returned to Berkeley, where he himself dared not reappear, early in 1945 and began the exhausting task of packing all the books amidst a frenzy of conflicting letters and telegrams from her husband. Finally late in February the two freight cars loaded with their 65,000 items headed for New York, and thereupon in typical Ellis style a last-minute telegram halted them en route at Lawrence, Kansas.

Professor E. Raymond Hall, Director of the Museum of Natural History at the University of Kansas, had been one of the senior museum staff who had befriended fifteen-year-old Ralph Ellis in Berkeley, and his offer of hospitality, supported by the University of Kansas, finally gave Ellis the institutional tie he had wanted. The books were safely housed, he was given office space and access to laboratories, a three-year loan contract was signed, change of address notes were carefully sent to dealers, and a new life was in sight. "I have been given huge quarters here," he wrote in July to an aunt,[5] "and the reception we have had has been wonderful. . . ." To the same aunt he mentioned the latest trend in his collecting: "Lately I have expanded my library to give more importance to bibliography . . . privately printed items . . . and libraries." By this he referred to his new interest in the history of books and printing, an enthusiasm he unhappily had no time to pursue very far. Optimistically he added, "I hope you will feel that . . . the old 'Ralphie' as you knew him could be dead."

The hand of fate was heavy. Ralph Ellis *was* dead six months later. He died 17 Dec. 1945, presumably of pneumonia, alone in a hotel

[5] It is of some interest that this aunt was Mrs. John Work Garrett of Baltimore; the Garrett rare book library at Evergreen House was left to Johns Hopkins University.

room while on a hunting trip near Colusa, California, aged only thirty-seven.

But the clangor and surprise of his life continued for some time after his death. The agreement with the University included a provision that in case of his death during the three-year interim "the ownership shall pass absolutely to the University of Kansas." Ownership did so pass but only after a series of prolonged and distressing court trials, ending with a State Supreme Court decision and final release of the books to the University in April 1950. The contestant was his widow, not his mother, for the latter wrote to a friend of the University that she hoped her son's library would indeed remain as his memorial at the University "which appreciated his work." Subsequently she herself left a generous bequest for the maintenance of the Ellis collection.

Thus finally Ralph Ellis' shattering life has come into peaceful concentration and focus. His books are now appreciated and effectively used at a university which supports a natural history museum noted for its research work both in the field and in the library, a university which has enhanced the Ellis collection by surrounding it with other relevant collections that together now support a teaching program in the history of science, a university that is prepared to produce the bibliographical work that Ralph Ellis himself often pondered. Manuscript is now complete for the first volume (A-F) of a projected three- or four-volume bibliographic catalogue of the ornithological books in the University of Kansas Library, based principally upon the Ralph N. Ellis collection.[6]

The decision to prepare such an ambitious catalogue was based not alone on a sense of obligation to the collector, but only after thoughtful analysis of existing ornithological catalogues, leading to the conclusion that this can indeed be a significant contribution to knowledge.[7] Yet limited as it is to Ellis' core-interest in ornithology, the

[6] This is being prepared by my bibliornithological colleague Dr. Robert M. Mengel, to whom I am indebted for much specific and general information. See his *A Catalog of an Exhibition of Landmarks in the Development of Ornithology from the Ralph N. Ellis Collection* . . . (Lawrence, University of Kansas Libraries, 1957).

[7] Dr. Mengel has ascertained, for example, that compared with approximately 470 entries covering A-F in Zimmer's catalogue of the Ayer collection at the Chicago Natural History Museum, the forthcoming Ellis catalogue A-F contains 920, representing 800 distinct works of which 562 are wholly rather than just partially ornithological. Of these 920 entries, approximately 191 (20.8 per cent) are dated from the close of Zimmer's

catalogue will still be a long way from describing the fullness of the Ellis collection as it extends out beyond that center. To have produced a catalogue of the whole would have been, we think, a pure act of devotion, far less meaningful to others. It is possible though that a listing of the scientific voyage reports would be useful also, for he always acquired a full set, or sets in various states and editions, even when but a portion was concerned with birds.

The Justices of the Kansas Supreme Court were determined to maintain the integrity of Ralph Ellis' life work rather than allow it to be dissipated. To have done otherwise would have been to empty his life completely of meaning. "The library," they declared, "was his obsession and the thing nearest his heart." Only a touch of genius, I believe, and an obsessive touch of the madness of books could have produced so extensive and so well integrated a library within so brief and chaotic a lifetime.

* * *

Among some rough notes describing and analyzing his collection that Ralph Ellis prepared hastily during his brief Lawrence stay is one of peculiar interest to the purposes of this paper. "The best collection of the works of . . . Rafinesque," he wrote, "is at the University of Nebraska." In light of the kaleidoscopic Ellis career it is perhaps not too surprising that a very few years later those very Rafinesque books left Lincoln, Nebraska, and are now housed adjacent to the Ellis collection in Lawrence, Kansas. But that is another story and it requires a change of pace.

On a bitterly cold day in early February 1953 I went by train to Lincoln with the late Frank Glenn, antiquarian bookseller of Kansas City, to inspect a private library that Glenn had just purchased from the estate of Professor Thomas Jefferson Fitzpatrick. Glenn was never a man to spurn a superlative, but even his rodomontade had inadequately prepared me for my first view of the Fitzpatrick menage on the outskirts of Lincoln.

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work forward. Of the remainder, 391 (42.5 per cent) do not appear in Zimmer, 100 (10.8 per cent) represent editions or impressions or issues distinct from those treated by him, and 2 (.2 per cent) are treated by Zimmer only in part, leaving 236 entries (25.7 per cent) in approximate (but not often exact) correspondence.

Externally the house held no surprise, except for its general air of utter neglect. It was a typical Midwestern farmhouse of white clapboard, two and a half storeys, with a long, cluttered porch. But once we had worked our way through the litter of the side yard and entered the kitchen door, it was evident that Frank Glenn's description had not been extravagant.

The house was literally full of books, packed with books, all thirteen rooms. Books were stacked under tables, piled up on beds, heaped in bundles on both sides of the stairways, pressed three and four deep in bookcases and onto ceiling-height shelving that lined every room and all hallways. Every room was awash with teetering piles of books, tied bundles of pamphlets, and stacks of magazines, so that we had to inch our way along trails hacked into a bookman's jungle. And this house was not the end of the trail: next door a one-storey cottage had been taken over as a "storage library," and later we found a barn on the old family homestead near Iowa City, loaded with piles and files of scientific journals. Most of the furniture in the main house in Lincoln was gone; even the larger bathroom fixtures had been relegated to a shed in the back yard to make way for more books. The only habitable, or perhaps I had better say "inhabited" room was the kitchen, where two army cots, surrounded by a clutter of books and papers, nestled against a potbelly stove.

On one of those cots Professor Fitzpatrick had died during the night of 28 Mar. 1952, just short of his eighty-fourth birthday. The other cot was for the badly crippled Mrs. Fitzpatrick, who survived her book-mad husband by a very few years. Thomas Jefferson Fitzpatrick was born 2 Apr. 1868, in Centerville, Iowa. Like many university men of his day he taught in the public schools while pursuing his own college education. In 1893 and 1895 he took a B.S. and then an M.S. degree at the State University in Iowa City, and in 1896 he married Miss Mary Frances Linder, who not only shared his long life but also collaborated with him to a remarkable degree. She too was a trained botanist, with graduate training at Bonn, and was joint author with her husband of several articles in his long scientific bibliography. Moreover, the Fitzpatrick bookplate specifically indicates "Library of T. J. Fitzpatrick; M. F. L. Fitzpatrick." The automatic assumption that the wife of a book collector does not sympathize with her husband's

hobby may well be more joke or myth than fact; in the Fitzpatrick case it clearly is not fact.[8]

In the years 1895 to 1899 and 1908 to 1912 in Lamoni, Iowa, Fitzpatrick taught mathematics at Graceland College, an establishment of the Reorganized Church of Latter Day Saints, a group that disagreed in principle with and deserted the main body of the Saints as they passed through the Midwest toward their promised land. This period at the turn of the century was especially significant in Fitzpatrick's life. An enthusiasm for that remarkable figure in early American science, C. S. Rafinesque, led to several articles and then flowered in 1911 when his still standard account, *Rafinesque, a Sketch of his Life, with Bibliography,* was published by the Historical Department of Iowa. Basic to that substantial volume was a collecting skill and devotion that formed one of the most impressive pearls in that house full of books in Lincoln, the Rafinesque section.

During that same period Fitzpatrick became so enamored of Midwestern history that he spent the years 1903-07 as the field collector for the Iowa State Historical Society and thus brought into professional focus the book collecting hobby that eventually consumed him. From those years we have the first record of his growing personal library, for in December 1904 the Board of Curators of the Historical Society accepted, apparently on loan, "the well-known Fitzpatrick collection and made provision for placing it in the rooms of the Society." At that point, half a century before his death, the collection comprised six thousand volumes and five thousand pamphlets, and the main collecting lines he was to pursue thereafter were already established. According to the Historical Society account there were, among other features: a collection of pre-Linnaean works and one hundred volumes of the writings of Linnaeus (when the scientific portions of the Fitzpatrick library came to the University of Kansas in 1953 there were 321 Linnaean items[9]); a Rafinesque collection in thirty volumes

[8] There were two children. F. L. Fitzpatrick went on to a more conventional and more successful academic career than his father's, but Lilian L. Fitzpatrick's promising academic career was thwarted early by tuberculosis. In 1960 the University of Nebraska Press issued a revised edition of her *Nebraska Place-Names.* Her father was also interested in place names and published several articles on those of Iowa. His hoard of Nebraska and Iowa county histories was probably source material for these studies.

[9] For an indication of the extent of the Linnaean holdings of the combined Fitzpatrick and Ellis collections, see Thomas R. Buckman's *A Catalog of an Exhibition . . . of Carolus Linnaeus . . .* (University of Kansas Libraries, Lawrence, 1957).

(this grew to be 156 books and pamphlets and 16 original manuscripts[10]); a significant group of Iowana (a comment in the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* in 1904 called it "the largest private collection of Iowana in the State."); a collection of early American travels (I opened a small closet in Lincoln and found it stuffed with guidebooks); a shorthand collection; many books and pamphlets relating to botany, geology, general science, and mathematics, including particularly midland local publications in those fields; and of special interest to the Society were the extensive files of journals, including a fairly complete set of all the various state experiment stations and the state and local academies of science publications.

One remarkable phase of his collecting that developed during the Graceland College days is not reported in this Historical Society account; this was his Mormon collection, and here again Fitzpatrick's remarkable foresight is evident. I say "again" because it must be clear already that his intense interest as a book collector in local history and in the history of science, especially American science, antedates by a generation the widespread popular and academic concern with those same fields of collecting. Moreover, Fitzpatrick was by far the first serious student to attempt to clear Rafinesque's name of the negative charge of eccentricity leveled by Asa Gray and others. In fact it has been within only the last very few years that practicing American scientists have come to recognize the importance of Rafinesque's work and the correctness of Fitzpatrick's defense.

It was at Graceland then that once more Fitzpatrick's prescience was remarkable. The college, it will be recalled, was supported by a dissident branch of the Mormon Church, and it is obvious from the detailed provenance notes that Fitzpatrick meticulously penciled into almost every item he ever acquired, that he was buying Mormon publications at auction in New York and from the local settlers for such prices as six cents and thirteen cents in the early years of this century. Up in the attic of the house in Lincoln I stumbled over a pile of brick and mortar dust that had drifted down where the main chimney

[10] For a brief analysis, see Charles Boewe, "Rafinesque at Lawrence," *Books and Libraries at the University of Kansas* No. 21 (May 1959), 1-3. Professor Boewe proposes that the collection of printed Rafinesque material is matched only at Harvard and that the manuscripts, although few, are significant.

went through the floor; my bruised toe uncovered a string-tied bundle of the *Saints' Herald*, so we rapidly rooted though this morain and found three more such bundles.

Another persistent interest arose at Graceland. In addition to teaching, Fitzpatrick was to supervise the college library, and on his resignation in September 1912 a member of the Board of Governors especially commended him for his remarkable success at putting the library into useful order and expanding its collections. This led directly to an isolated but interesting episode in Fitzpatrick's career. He thereupon for the only time in his life abandoned the Midwest and academic pursuits to spend several months, apparently disappointing ones, as the technical reference librarian of the Los Angeles Public Library.

But then by some time in 1913 he was back in the Midwest, this time in Lincoln, Nebraska, where he spent the rest of his long life. The intention had apparently been that he should pursue a doctorate under his beloved mentor C. E. Bessey, but somehow in the face of his multifarious interests that key program was never completed. This failure of course accounts for the fact that Fitzpatrick never climbed the academic ladder and was in fact the ill-paid departmental drudge: assistant professor of botany, curator of the herbarium, and custodian of the botany and zoology library, until his retirement in 1949.

And this situation in turn explains the poverty that bedeviled him to the end. A note in his diary in 1915 reports, "Got some money today which was something of a relief," and a pathetic letter in the 1930's, when both his wife and his daughter were under continuous medical care, mentions the laughter of some student over a hole in his suit at a time when he could not afford a new one. All through the years Fitzpatrick amplified his meager salary, said never to have risen above $1800, by the sale of duplicates. At times this seemed to be a thriving, at least an extensive business. He was selling scientific journal files to libraries all over this country and as far afield as Japan, on the basis of lists that he printed himself on a hand press in the attic. But even this extra effort apparently produced precious little budgetary slack. His book buying, extensive as it was, was never expensive. He bought from dealers all over the world, from catalogues and at auctions, as well as by the gunny sack full from local families, but he was a persistent search-

er and shrewd judge of a bargain, and his foresight in collecting unpopular subjects multiplied his bank account. Moreover, he was not finicky about the appearance of his books. They were in general a shabby lot, well encrusted with dust and coal smoke. Yet on the other hand he was a precise bibliographer. His handwritten annotations in each book record not only date, source, and price but also bibliographical observations that are invariably precise and based on detailed collation. Notes of such precision as "another copy I had was ¼ inch taller" or "slight tear in pp. 128-129" appear in acquisitions as late as September 1951. But at some point in his later years his bibliomania apparently became so cancerous that he could hardly forego anything with print on it.

On top of all this business Fitzpatrick continued to be a productive scientist until into the 1930's. For a 1928 *Who's Who in Lincoln* he reported having published "over 200 articles in various literary and technical journals," this in addition to several extensive monographs. I am told that most of his many articles are solid taxonomic and floristic studies, while one long monograph on "The Prairie"[11] is still considered a classic ecological study. Much of his writing relates of course to his field work for the herbarium.[12]

Shortly after his return to the Midwest in 1913 Fitzpatrick reported to the A. N. Marquis people that he owned "a scientific library of fifteen thousand volumes." This can be compared with the 1904 report of six thousand volumes and five thousand pamphlets. The next inventory figure appears in a story about the Fitzpatrick collection in the January 1927 issue of *The Nebraska Alumnus,* which speaks of "some 20,000 books" and then goes on to say that "the largest part of the collection is in Bessey hall, on the university campus, and may be consulted upon request."

When we visited Lincoln in February 1953 some of Professor Fitzpatrick's books were still in Bessey hall, locked in a tall, glass-front bookcase in the departmental library. It was a significant group—the

[11] J. E. Weaver and T. J. Fitzpatrick, *Ecological Monographs* IV, No. 2 (1934), 111-295.

[12] An obituary note in the Iowa Academy of Science *Proceedings* LIX (1952), 47-48, speaks of him as an "indiscriminate collector" of plants, but then pays tribute to these same collections as subsequent source material for some significant studies. It is interesting to ruminate on these comments with reference to his book collecting.

Linnaean collection, some early herbals, and a few other obviously "rare" books—but not numerically large. It is possible then that the 1927 total figure of "some 20,000 books" is suspect as being unduly modest.

Certainly by 1953 the collection had swollen far beyond that count. We never really knew how many volumes or items there were altogether; weight seemed a better and more dramatic measure of such a hoard. In November 1950, according to Fitzpatrick's lawyer and executor Mr. Lloyd Chapman, city officials had protested a presumed breach of the building code which specified forty pounds per square foot as the permissible load limit. The inspector estimated that the Fitzpatrick house was enduring 348 pounds per square foot and that there might be twenty-five tons of books in each of the larger rooms and ninety tons all told. Happily Attorney Chapman managed to repel this "invasion of [Fitzpatrick's] rights of privacy." The books that were finally selected out piece-by-piece for special sale filled four heavily loaded moving vans, and even then the house was crammed with books. That remainder was sold in a lot by Frank Glenn to a local secondhand book dealer, and a miscellaneous and grimy lot it was. I must confess, however, that I occasionally wonder in the night about that remainder. Our own selection for the University of Kansas Library was limited to those significant for scientific studies, including of course the history of science, but now that I am acutely aware of Fitzpatrick's frequent foreknowledge of books destined to rise from insignificance to high value, I am led to question my own judgment.

And what did we acquire from this bibliomane's repository? Something has been said already about the Linnaeus and Rafinesque sections, but there was more of course, about 10,000 volumes including many made up of pamphlets and periodicals, plus a great many manuscript pieces. Four of us from the University went up shortly after my first visit and spent several days at the dirty, heavy, and freezing (the executor didn't dare allow a fire in the house), but exciting task of hand picking. In one corner we found forty John Ray books in various editions.[13] There were other groupings of books and pamphlets, and

[13] R. Kidman and E. Farley, "Ray in Kansas," *Books and Libraries at the University of Kansas* No. 9 (May 1955), 9-10. The authors report that, "without too much duplication, [the Ellis and Fitzpatrick] books cover more than 50% of the items in Keynes, spread through his titles."

occasionally manuscripts, of such early American botanists as John Torrey (of the Torrey pine), William Barton, the Bartrams, John and William, Thomas Nuttall (the Harvard professor whom Dana in *Two Years Before the Mast* was surprised to find wandering barefoot on the beach at San Diego in 1837), Asa Gray (of the Gray Herbarium at Harvard), and William Darlington of Pennsylvania ("the Nestor of American botany").[14] Since many of the early botanists were also medical men, these added usefully to our Clendening collection in medical history as well as fitting with remarkable neatness against Ralph Ellis' books. But Fitzpatrick's scientific books are not only American. His collection is international and covers all centuries, although because he could seldom afford them, books before the seventeenth century are not common. It is strongest in botany, with especially concentrated groupings on ferns, fungi, and algae.

An equally large selection, some 29,000 pounds in all, was acquired by the Kansas City, Missouri, Public Library: the Americana in general, including the Midwestern and local history, the American travels, and the Mormon collection, numbering about 1,500 separate items, that has special meaning in Kansas City because nearby Independence is the official home of the Reorganized Church of Latter Day Saints.

* * *

In contrast to the whirlwind collecting methods of Ralph Ellis, Thomas Jefferson Fitzpatrick's long career seems methodical and predictable, if not plodding. Yet the close of the Fitzpatrick story is as melodramatic as any episode in the Ellis story. Both collections came to the University of Kansas through a sudden, almost implausible circumstance. Ralph Ellis' books reached Lawrence, it will be recalled, when he sent a telegram to stop the freight cars en route to New York. The *deus ex machina* in the Fitzpatrick case was Mr. Malcolm G. Wyer, the emeritus librarian of the City and University of Denver. Mr. Wyer had been librarian of the State University of Iowa and then of the University of Nebraska during the first quarter of this century, and had known Fitzpatrick in both places. Subsequently their paths separated for many years. But then, as Mr. Wyer recalls, "Late in

[14] Described by G. S. T. Cavanagh, "Florula Darlingtoniana," *Books and Libraries at the University of Kansas* No. 21 (May 1959), 3-7.

March 1952 I was one day looking over a second-hand book catalog and . . . my thoughts were led to Mr. Fitzpatrick from whom I had not heard for some years. I wrote him a letter asking about his library and his plans for it."[15] That letter never reached Professor Fitzpatrick for he had just died, so it went to his executor, who thereupon sought Mr. Wyer's advice. Mr. Wyer among other things mentioned the name of Frank Glenn, and Frank Glenn phoned to Lawrence. Fortunately I answered the phone.

[15] Malcolm G. Wyer, "Fitzpatrick as Collector," *Books and Libraries at the University of Kansas* No. 4 (November 1953), 2-3.

Bibliographical Notes

An Unrecorded Edition of a Hoole Schoolbook

To twentieth-century Americans concerned over the quality of public education, all the works of one of the foremost English educators of the seventeenth century ought to be of interest, and a previously unknown edition of one of his works should be worthy of note. Charles Hoole (1610-67) received his B.A. in 1632 and his M.A. in 1636 from Lincoln College, Oxford,[1] after a preliminary education in his home town of Wakefield, Yorkshire. He took Holy Orders and received a living, but his career as a minister was ended by Parliamentary sequestration. This caused him to go to London to seek employment as a teacher. He succeeded. He taught in the private schools of others and founded a small one of his own where "he instructed youths to a miracle."[2] It is evident that he considered Latin the basis of an education. While he was the first to recommend English literature as a subject for instruction, he thought that Latin was useful in the understanding of English authors, "even for those pupils who did not go beyond the elementary stage."[3] After 1660, and the restoration of Charles II, he left teaching for a rectorship at Stock, Essex.

During his years as a teacher he wrote many books. His literary production culminated in the important *A New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching Schoole.*[4] A study of the National Union Catalog in the Library of Congress shows that twenty-odd of his works, printed in the seventeenth century either before or after his death in 1667, are to be found in this country. They are thinly sprinkled. Yale, Harvard, Folger, Library of Congress, Library Company of Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Indiana, Illinois, and W. A. Clark, each has one or more of his books. Frequently one of these libraries has the only copy in America of a given edition.

Except for his above-mentioned major work, all his writings were directly concerned with his major teaching tool, Latin. Most of his works were frankly

[1] Anthony à Wood, *Athenae Oxoniensis* (London, 1815), Fasti Vol. II, Columns 465, 489.

[2] Watson, Foster, *The Old Grammar Schools* (Cambridge, 1916), pp. 99 ff.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 101. See also, by the same author, *The English Grammar Schools to 1660* (Cambridge, 1908), p. 271.

[4] Printed by J. T. for Andrew Crook, London, 1660. Copies at the Library of Congress, Indiana University, and the University of Illinois. More generally available is a reprint (London, 1913) with E. T. Campagnac as editor.

grammars. More broadly cultural were *Catonis disticha*, 1670, and *Centuria epistolarum*, 1687, both represented in this country in posthumous editions. Many of his books were printed, by various printers, for the Company of Stationers.

Not listed as being in America, however, is a very interesting item first printed for the Company of Stationers by Sarah Griffin in 1657. It is his translation of Mathurin Corderius' school colloquies. According to Wing only one copy of this is known and that is in the British Museum.

Mathurin Cordier, 1479-1564, was a French humanist who was a genius as a schoolmaster. Evidently he was also a genius at getting along with people, since Calvin never lost affection for him: Cordier spent much time in Switzerland.[5] He wrote, and published in 1564, his *Colloquia Scholastica*, written in French and Latin as a series of increasingly difficult conversations. Since many chapters deal with the every-day life of his pupils, we get more than a mere glimpse of late Renaissance life in his book. The book was very popular. All editions are now rare. Five editions of it appeared in England before 1640. Wing lists nine in his period, including the one by Hoole. (Another edition, published in 1663 by Thomas Ratcliffe for the Company of Stationers, has since been identified.—D.G.W.) These English Corderius translations were imported into America—just which editions are not known, of course. However, Hoole's edition may have been used to instruct colonial Virginia schoolboys on the lonely plantations, since other works by him have been noted in the early libraries of the Old Dominion.[6] Rosenbach lists two editions printed in America.[7] Cordier's idea remained popular even into the last century. Ruddiman, in 1803, used the same idea in the balanced columns of his grammar.[8]

There has recently come into my possession an unrecorded edition of Hoole's Corderius printed by Sarah Griffin, for the Stationers, in 1667, ten years after the first. The English title reads:

> *Maturinus Corderius's* | School-Colloquies | English and Latine, | Divided into several Clauses; | Wherein the propriety of both lan- | guages is kept. | That Children by the help of their Mo- | ther-Tongue may the better learn to | speak Latine in ordinary Discourse. | [rule] There are Numbers set down betwixt | both, which do shew the place, and na- | tural use of any word or phrase. | [rule] By Charles Hoole

[5] Hoole discusses Cordier on A5 of the edition to be described below.

[6] Wright, Louis B., *The First Gentlemen of Virginia* (San Marino, 1940), pp. 140, 203, 221, 279. References to Cordier are frequently seen in the various booklists to be found in the early volumes of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*.

[7] Rosenbach, A. S. W., *Early American Children's Books* (Portland, 1933), items 19 (Boston, 1724) and 115 (Philadelphia, 1787).

[8] Ruddiman, Thomas, *The Rudiments of the Latin Tongue* (Philadelphia, 1803).

> Mr of Arts, of | Lin. Col. Ox. Teacher of a private Grammar-School, | betwixt Goldsmiths Alley in Red-Cross-street, and | Maiden-head-Court in Aldersgate-street Lond. | [rule] Cicero, de claris Oratoribus. | [rule] This same speaking Latine, is a thing indeed to be highly | commended, but not so much of it self, as because very | many neglect it. For it is not such a gallant thing to un- | derstand Latine, as it is base to be ignorant of it. | [rule] LONDON, | Printed by S. Griffin, for the Company of Stationers, | 1667. [rule]

Facing this page is an exact translation of the same into Latin. The Wing entry for the earlier edition reads as follows: (Wing C 6292) *Mathurin Corderius's school-colloquies. By Sarah Griffin, for the company of stationers,* 1657. It will be seen that "Mathurin" was changed to the more logical "Maturinus" and that the printer used her first initial only in the second edition.

The little book before me is bound in seventeenth-century calf. It was evidently cut in the process of being bound, since a few headings are barely shaved (it now measures 14.5 cm.). There is a contemporary ownership signature, "Ex libris Georgii Maule Dec 23, 1667," on the obverse of the English title and "Henry Maule" on the front flyleaf.

Sarah Griffin, the printer of both Hoole editions, widow of Edward Griffin II, had succeeded to her husband's business in 1652. She worked in London, Old Bailey, St. Sepulchre's Parish, from 1653 to 1673.[9] In the course of those twenty years she printed at least ninety books.[10] This particular example of her press is a strictly commercial job. This fact is most obvious whenever black letter is used. There is much variation in the degree of inking, so that frequently we can know a letter only by its neighbors and context. There are also many evidences of chipped and worn type. It is likely that since black letter was going out of style the printer did not wish to buy any more. The reason for the English being printed sometimes in black letter and sometimes in roman is not clear. The roman type is occasionally poorly impressed also. But what could the Maule boy expect for the shilling and sixpence noted on the inside cover?

Commercial or not, this little 414-page book is very interesting. It was designed to teach conversational Latin. Each page has a column of English dialogue balanced by a column of Latin translation. The material offered is more or less increasingly difficult as the book proceeds. It deals with the everyday

[9] Plomer, Henry R., *Dictionary of Booksellers and Printers at Work in England, Scotland, and Ireland 1641-1667* (London, 1907), p. 87.

[10] Morrison, Paul G., *Index of Printers, Publishers, and Booksellers in Donald Wing's Short Title Catalog* (Charlottesville, 1955), p. 92.

problems of the times. There are grammar lessons, school small-talk, school routine discussions, popular anatomy, much heavy moralizing and religion. We learn of the evening meal called "bever," about "cockling" mothers who spoil their children, about "greedy-gut" boys. There is frequent reference to grape culture, probably retained from the Cordier original. We learn a little of the price of veal and butter, and of the different sorts of "flesh-meats" eaten in those days. We read of the father who teaches his boys when home labor needs cause him to make truants of them. We are amused at the rage of another father whose cockled son fled home from school in Germany because of home-sickness, and at the means his mother took to shield the boy from the father's wrath. The book must have been interesting and useful to the boys of the 1660's, for they paid it the highest of compliments: with the apparent exception of this copy they destroyed a whole edition through use.

Gordon W. Jones

Falmouth, Virginia

"A certain 4to 'Elegy'"

Miss Fannie Ratchford's charges that Sir Edmund Gosse was implicated in the forgeries of Thomas J. Wise hardly need refutation, after the answers made by Wilfred Partington, John Carter, and others. A letter written by Wise to Gosse on 16 Feb. 1897 and recently published by Graham Pollard,[1] offers further support to the conviction that Gosse was the innocent dupe of his bookish protegé. Another letter of a similar kind seems well worth publishing, partly as a neat demonstration of Wise in action and partly for the question it raises.

This letter was written (on stationery of the Shelley Society) only twenty-seven days after the one quoted and commented on at length by Pollard. It refers to those "pieces of Swinburne—bits of Tennyson, &c"—all apparently "new" to Gosse—that are so meticulously listed by Wise in his earlier letter to Gosse.

March 15th, 1897

My dear Gosse,

I've shewn you at ready [*sic*] one or two things in a Bibliographical way which were new to you: pieces of Swinburne—bits of Tennyson, &c. All these come within my own particular range: but what will you

[1] "Letter to Sir Edmund Gosse," edited with a commentary by Graham Pollard, in William B. Todd, ed. *Thomas J. Wise Centenary Studies* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1959), pp. 30-37.

say if I open your eyes to something that lies within *your* scope, not mine at all? What will you say if I tell you that the ordinary accepted princeps of Gray's "Elegy," the 4to. of 1751, is not the Princeps at all? What will you say if I shew you that the true Princeps is a *Folio*, printed earlier than the dear 8d 4to. every Bookman longs for, but only a few lucky devils can have?

What a funny lot Bibliographers have been! They've left it all these years for poor me to find out what is really the first title, & what should really be the correct contents, of the Princeps of "Paradise Lost", & now I find that for two a whole century & more folks have all been wrong, & have been hugging as the Princeps a certain 4to "Elegy" which is no more than an imposter, & not the rightful thing at all?

In frantic haste,
But always yours,
Tom Wise.

This document is neatly—and appropriately—laid into the first volume of a set of Nicholl's and Wise's *Literary Anecdotes of the Nineteenth Century*, a set which carries Gosse's bookplates and which is now in the Weller Collection of the Occidental College Library. Its author's urbane dissociation from the common run of arid book collectors ("What a funny lot Bibliographers have been!"), its subtle flattery of Gosse for his academic respectability and scholarly reputation ("poor me"), and of course its discreet self-praise, further support the picture of Wise so vividly drawn by Partington in *Thomas J. Wise in the Original Cloth.*

If Gosse and Wise were indeed fellow-conspirators, as Miss Ratchford insisted, the only explanation for such a letter as this would have to be that it was designed, written, and sent as part of a scheme intended by the two of them to mislead both their contemporaries and posterity. And such a notion is as difficult to swallow as the geologic notions of Sir Edmund's own father, Philip Henry Gosse.

The chief interest of this letter lies in its clear suggestion that Wise had available, presumably on immediate call, a folio first edition of Gray's *Elegy*. The 1751 edition, which we are accustomed to consider the first, survives in few copies: John Carter guesses not more than fifty exist.[2] In Wise's own day it was already fetching a handsome price. Writing to John Henry Wrenn on 10 Mar. 1907 and apparently answering a query, Wise says: "My idea of price

[2] *Taste and Technique in Book Collecting* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1949), p. 152.

for the 'Elegy' is £150, if fine."[3] But how infinitely more valuable would a unique *genuine* first be! And a folio to boot!

The obvious question raised by Wise's letter is: What happened to the mysterious folio "Princeps" of Gray's famous poem? Was it indeed in Wise's possession when he wrote "in frantic haste" to Gosse, who surely would be expected to snap immediately at the baited hook so temptingly dangled? No copy of such an *Elegy* seems to survive, genuine or forged; at least, none is listed in the definitive "Handlist of Thomas J. Wise," by William B. Todd, published in *Centenary Studies*. This bibliography, accurate to 1958 or 1959, lists the 401 publications now attributed to Wise, twenty-nine others in which he seems to have been involved, and a further twenty-three items of miscellanea. Nothing of Gray's is recorded in this handlist. Nor is there any such folio in the catalogue of the Ashley Library.[4]

Donald K. Adams

Occidental College

Eugene Lee-Hamilton

Harvey Lyon's "Publishing History of the Writings of Eugene Lee-Hamilton" (*PBSA*, vol. 51, 2nd Quarter, 1957, pp. 141-59) requires a correction and some additions. On p. 145: The unsigned article "Contemporary Italian Poets" in the *Quarterly Review* CXLIV (Oct. 1877), 446-84 is by Vernon Lee (Violet Paget) Eugene Lee-Hamilton's half-sister. The translations of the poems *only* are by Lee-Hamilton. To my knowledge it is the only instance of their collaboration in print.

Even at the time the article was published there was some confusion about its authorship. This is seen in a letter, dated 23 Nov. 1878, from Alessandro Arnaboldi[1] (whose work is discussed in the article) to Lee-Hamilton. In this letter Arnaboldi thanks Lee-Hamilton for sending his *Poems and Transcripts* (1878), which contains "A First of November Evening—from Arnaboldi"

[3] Fannie E. Ratchford, ed. *Letters of Thomas J. Wise to John Henry Wrenn* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1944), p. 472.

[4] The reference in the present letter to "what is really the first title, & what should really be the correct contents of 'Paradise Lost' " alludes to a copy of *Paradise Lost* with the first title which Wise had bought from Hodgson's in June, 1894, and which he grandly called "A discovery in the bibliographical history of 'Paradise Lost!' " (Letter to H. Buxton Forman, 24 June 1894). This may perhaps be the same copy which, in letters to Wrenn in April, May and June, 1897, Wise says he had purchased originally from Messrs. J. Pearson Co. and which he then goes on to describe at great length. In any event, as Miss Ratchford indicates in her comments on these letters, the respectability of the Milton find remains open to question. (See Ratchford, *Letters*, pp. 118-19, 128, 130-31, and 135-38).

[1] Colby College Library, Waterville, Maine.

(the translation of a fragment from "La Sera d'un primo Novembre" which had already appeared in the *Quarterly Review*, p. 471), and assumes that Lee-Hamilton was the author of the article in the *Quarterly Review* as well.

However, two letters of 1876 from Vernon Lee,[2] one to Francesco Protonotari, the editor of the *Nuova Antologia*, and another to Pietro Fanfani, the librarian of the Biblioteca Marucelliana in Florence, definitely establish her authorship of "Contemporary Italian Poets." To the first she wrote: ". . . Un mio studio sui loro principali poeti moderni Prati, Aleardi ed altri, verrà pubblicato nel prossimo volume della Quarterly Review del Murray e mi farò un pregio di mandarne un'esemplar a Lei." (A study of mine of your principal modern poets Prati, Aleardi and others will be published in the next volume of Murray's *Quarterly Review*, and I shall be happy to send you a copy.) The letter to Fanfani thanks him for some information on contemporary Italian poetry and announces that her article has been accepted by the *Quarterly Review*.

Finally, the letters of Giovanni Ruffini written to Vernon Lee[3] in 1876-77 discuss her article (for which she received thirty-one guineas) and her brother's contribution of the translations. Ruffini's letters to Vernon Lee will be published shortly by Professor Beatrice Corrigan of the University of Toronto, to whom I am indebted for this information.

Additions to Mr. Lyon's list should include:

Sonnets of the Wingless Hours. (1894)
"Meeting the Ghosts," Martin Secker, ed., *A Period Anthology in Prose and Verse.* London, The Richards Press (1948), 229

"Sonnets on two Frescoes by Signorelli: I, The Resurrection; II, The Binding of the Lost." *Magazine of Art* VI (1882-83), 374

Forest Notes. (1899)
"At Venice," Alfred H. Hyatt, ed., *The Charm of Venice, an Anthology.* London, Chatto & Windus, 1908, 373

Other reviews which may be noted are: *Imaginary Sonnets* (1888). *Nuova Antologia*, CV (21, series III), no. 144 (May 1889). Reprinted in Enrico Nencioni, *Saggi Critici di letteratura inglese*, Seconda Impressione, Firenze, Successori Le Monnier, 1910, 399-403 (the first edition appeared in 1897). Nencioni's review includes translations in Italian prose of the following: "Venus to Tannhäuser"; "Latude to his rats"; "Saint Theresa to the heavenly gates"; "The Duchess Salviati to Caterina Canacci."

Sybille Pantazzi

Art Gallery of Toronto

[2] Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence.

[3] Colby College Library.

A Note on a Whitman Holograph Poem

In *Walt Whitman's Workshop* Clifton J. Furness prints an undated nine-line holograph poem titled "*O brood continental,*" which he believed was "Later incorporated in 'Apostroph,' "[1] the sixty-five line opening poem in the "Chants Democratic" section of the 1860 edition of *Leaves of Grass:*[2]

O BROOD CONTINENTAL

O brood continental!
O you teeming cities! invincible, turbulent, proud!
O men of passion & the storm! O all you slumberers!
Arouse! arouse! the dawn-bird's throat sounds shrill!
Arouse! as I walk'd the beach, I heard the mournful notes foreboding a tempest!
The low, oft-repeated shriek of the diver, the long-lived loon, I heard;
I heard & yet hear, angry thunder,—O sailors! O ships! make a quick preparation!
O from his masterful sweep, the warning cry of the eagle!
— Give way there all! it is useless—give up your spoils!

Apparently when Furness compared the holograph with lines 1-15 of "Apostroph" he saw that with minor changes lines 1-9 corresponded to lines 2, 5, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15. Further, line 3 of the holograph appears with a number of additions as lines 7 and 10 of "Apostroph," and lines 5-6 appear as line 12. Furness concluded that Whitman had later reworked the nine lines and added additional lines to form 1-15 of "Apostroph."

However, an examination of the extensive revisions that Whitman made for this poem in his personal, annotated copy of the 1860 edition of *Leaves of Grass*[3] indicates that he did not work from the holograph to the printed "Apostroph"; on the contrary, a comparison of the two shows that the nine-line holograph was not an early draft but constitutes a fair copy, with some minor changes, of

[1] Cambridge, Mass., 1928), p. 84. Also see *Walt Whitman: A Catalog Based Upon the Collections of The Library of Congress* (Washington, 1955), p. 7, item 1, where the holograph, in the American Academy of Arts and Letters Collection, is described as an "Early draft of the opening passage of the poem Apostroph."

[2] (Thayer and Eldridge, Boston, 1860-61), pp. 105-08, reprinted in *Leaves of Grass* (Inclusive Edition), ed. Emory Holloway (New York, 1926), pp. 473-75.

[3] Over the years Whitman had made extensive revisions in this unique copy in preparation for the next (1867) edition. Known as the "Blue Book" because it still retains its original blue wrappers, it is now part of the Lion Whitman Collection in the New York Public Library. This copy is cited hereafter as the "Blue Book."

the revisions Whitman had made for lines 1-15 of the printed "Apostroph."[4]

On p. 105 of the "Blue Book" Whitman interlined "O brood continental | (apostroph.)" above the cancelled title. He cancelled lines 1, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9 entire and with a guideline joined the uncancelled portion of line 10, "O all those slumberers!," to the uncancelled portion of line 7, "O men of passion and the storm!," to form the new line "O men of passion and the storm! O all those slumberers!" This revised line appears with minor changes in the holograph as line 3. And with lines 1, 3, 4, 6 of "Apostroph" cancelled, the revised line 7 constituted, in sequence, line 3 of the remaining seven uncancelled lines (of 1-15) in the "Apostroph" text. In line 10 Whitman interlined and erased the word "you" above the cancelled and restored "those." In line 3 of the holograph Whitman replaced "those" with "you."

Similarly, in line 5 of "Apostroph" "O so" (preceding "invincible") was cancelled, to read "O you teeming cities! invincible, turbulent, proud!" This, the second of the uncancelled lines, appears without further change as line 2 in the holograph.[5] In line 12 Whitman inserted a "q" (the symbol he used throughout the "Blue Book" to indicate that a long line was to be divided into two lines, etc.), through the em dash. This, the sixth of the uncancelled lines, with other revisions ("O Arouse!" was interlined above the cancelled "O" and "I heard" was added to the end of the line) appears as lines 5-6 in the holograph. The revised line 13 was retained with minor changes as line 7. The unrevised line 14 became line 8 without change, and the unrevised line 15 with minor changes became line 9.

Whitman had intended to include the heavily revised "Apostroph" in *Drum-Taps*, published May, 1865, but he changed his mind and the poem was dropped after the 1860 edition.[6] An account of Whitman's revisions for "Apostroph," lines 1-15, follows.[7]

[4] The heavily revised "Apostroph" was reduced from sixty-five to twenty-seven lines. The revisions of lines 1-15 appear on pp. 105-06. Page 105 is reproduced in facsimile in Gay Wilson Allen, *Walt Whitman* (Evergreen Profile Book 19, New York, 1961), p. 75; lines 13-15, which appear on p. 106, are not shown. Appended below is a detailed account of the revisions Whitman made for "Apostroph," lines 1-15.

[5] A cancelled interlineation in line 11 was retained when this heavily revised line became line 4 in the holograph.

[6] In the upper right margin of p. 105 Whitman enclosed the notation "tr[ansfer] to | Drum | Taps" within a curved line. He also drew a hand pointing to another notation: "*take this piece* | *out altogether* | [and] tr to Drum Taps." On the verso of the flyleaf in the "Blue Book" Whitman indicated that he planned to include "O brood continental" with other poems in a separate grouping he contemplated (but abandoned), titled "Pioneers O Pioneers [*sic*]." Perhaps it was at this time that he made the fair copy of the uncancelled and revised lines in "Apostroph." The poem "Pioneers! O Pioneers!" first appeared in *Drum-Taps*.

[7] All cancelled portions of the text are in square brackets [ ], and cancellations that

⟨O brood continental⟩
⟨(apostroph.)⟩[8]
[*Apostroph.*]
[O mater! O fils!]
1 O brood continental! ⟨race of the future!⟩*
[O flowers of the prairies!][9]
[O space boundless! O hum of mighty products!]
2 O you teeming cities! [O so] invincible, turbulent, | proud![10]
[O race of the future! O women!]
3 [O fathers!] O [you] men of passion and the storm!
[O native power only! O beauty!]
[O yourself! O God! O divine average!]
⟨⟨you⟩⟩*
3 [O you bearded roughs![11] O bards!] O all [those]* slum- | berers![12]
⟨pours⟩
4 [O] ⟨Arouse!⟩* arouse! the dawn-bird's throat [sounds] shrill! [Do | you not hear the cock] ⟨exultant⟩* [crowing?]
5-6 ⟨O Arouse!⟩ [O,] as I ⟨too⟩* walk'd the beach, I heard the mournful notes | foreboding a tempest—[13] ⟨⟨ ⟩⟩ the low, oft-repeated | shriek of the diver, the long-lived loon [;] ⟨I heard⟩

p. 106:

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were restored by erasure are bracketed and starred. Insertions in Whitman's hand are in angle brackets ⟨ ⟩. Cancelled insertions are in angle brackets and are starred. Double vacant angle brackets indicate an erased and illegible insertion, and a word in line 10 that Whitman interlined, erased, and is legible is in double angle brackets and is starred. Line endings are marked by a vertical stroke | except at the end of a verse where the ending is obvious. Line numbers refer to corresponding lines in the holograph.

[8] A previous trial title, "Apostroph Democratic," was preceded by a "?" and cancelled in the top margin. The group title "Chants | Democratic | and | Native American." was also cancelled.

[9] Before lines 3-4 were cancelled entire in one continuous stroke, a guideline joined line 4 to 3 to form a new line 3, "O flowers of the prairies! O space boundless!," etc.

[10] A delete mark was drawn in the margin the length of line 5, but the line was not cancelled.

[11] A cancelling vertical line was drawn from the deleted "you" of line 7 and extended through lines 8, 9, and ("roughs" of) 10.

[12] After several complicated and obscure revisions, a guideline extended from a caret inserted preceding "O all" to "storm!" of line 7 to form the new revised line "O men of passion and the storm! O all," etc.

[13] Whitman's symbol ("q") that two lines were to be made from line 12 was inserted through (cancelling) the em dash.

⟨⟨ ⟩⟩

7 [O] I heard, and yet hear, angry thunder;—O [you] | sailors! [O]*
ships! make quick preparation![14]
8 O from his masterful sweep, the warning cry of the | eagle!
9 (Give way there, all! It is useless! Give up your | spoils;)

ARTHUR GOLDEN

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An Unrecorded Mark Twain

Among Harvard's collection of Russian revolutionary literature is a Russian translation of Mark Twain's "The Czar's Soliloquy" published as an eight page pamphlet, thus making it the first appearance in book form. There is recorded in the *Bibliography of American Literature* only one other instance in which a piece, translated from the original English text, first appeared in book form in a foreign language. In 1864 an article written by Lydia Maria Child for the March 1863 issue of the *Atlantic Monthly* was published in book form as *Willie Wharton ò el Niño Robado por los Indios* (BAL 3196). Similar but not precisely parallel is the case of Benjamin Franklin's *Autobiography*, which was first published in French in 1791 (Ford 383). It did not appear in English until 1793 (Ford 386).[1]

"The Czar's Soliloquy" first appeared in *The North American Review* in March 1905.[2] It begins with the tsar, Nicholas II, as he steps out of his bath, contemplating himself and stating that it is only his clothes and his title that cause his subjects to worship him. The tsar then goes on to state:

> We and our uncles are a family of cobras set over a hundred and forty million rabbits, whom we torture and murder and feed upon all our days; yet the moralist urges that to kill us is a crime, not a duty.
>
> . . . Ah! what could our Family do without the moralist? He has always been our stay, our support, our friend; to-day he is our *only* friend. Whenever there has been dark talk of assassination, he has come forward and saved us with his impressive maxim, "Forbear: nothing politically valuable was ever yet achieved by violence." He probably believes it. It is because he has

[14] A delete mark was drawn in the margin the length of lines 13-15, but they were not cancelled.

[1] Paul Leicester Ford, *A List of Books Written by, or Relating to Benjamin Franklin* (Brooklyn, 1899).

[2] Mark Twain, "The Czar's Soliloquy" in *The North American Review*, 180, no. 3 (Mar. 1905), pp. 321-26.

ПАРТІЯ СОЦІАЛИСТОВЪ-РЕВОЛЮЦІОНЕРОВЪ.

Въ борьбѣ обрѣтешь ты право свое!

САМОДЕРЖЕЦЪ ВСЕРОССІЙСКІЙ.

СОДЕРЖАНІЕ:

1. «Жилъ-былъ человѣкъ»... (каррикатура изъ Brooklin Eagle). 2. Ника-Милуша и Макаки (басня). 3. Монологъ Николая II. (Марка Твэна). 4. Недалекое будущее (каррикатура изъ Simplicissimus'a).

Цѣна 20 с.—Prix 20 cts.

1905.

Печатано въ типографіи П. С.-Р..

THE FRONT WRAPPER

> by him no child's book of world-history to teach him that his maxim lacks the backing of statistics. All thrones have been established by violence; no regal tyranny has ever been overthrown except by violence; by violence my fathers set up our throne; by murder, treachery, perjury, torture, banishment and the prison they have held it for four centuries, and by these same arts I hold it today. There is no Romanoff of learning and experience but would reverse the maxim and say: "Nothing politically valuable was ever yet achieved *except* by violence."[3]

Paine in his biography of Clemens states that "The Czar's Soliloquy" was "a withering satire on Russian imperialism."[4] In the now little-used meaning of the word "imperialism" as a system of government with an emperor, it was. But Paine is using understatement, for the article was really a call for violence.

In his earlier days Clemens had quite a different attitude toward the Russian autocracy. While abroad in 1867, the passengers of the "Quaker City" were received by Alexander II. A committee was chosen to draft an address to the tsar, and Clemens, as chairman, naturally did the work. (BAL 3311.) In the address he offered:

> . . . grateful acknowledgments to the Lord of a Realm which, through good and through evil report, has been the steadfast friend of our Native Land.
>
> One of the brightest pages that has graced the worlds [*sic*] history; since written history had its birth, was recorded by your Majesty's hand when it loosed the bonds of twenty millions of men, and Americans can but esteem it a privilege to do honour to a ruler who has wrought so great a deed. . . .[5]

This was the prevailing attitude in America in the 1860's, for it was considered that Russia had befriended the North during the Civil War; and Alexander II, who had liberated the serfs, was still in the reform period of his reign.

That Clemens' attitude changed is well known and not surprising, but it is remarkable that he had the same solution to Russia's political problems in 1890 as in 1905—assassination. In the summer of 1890 Clemens, at the request of the editor of *Free Russia,* published by the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom, wrote a letter in which he expressed more explicitly than in "The Czar's Soliloquy" his views on political violence.

> I now perceive why all men are the deadly and uncompromising enemies of the rattlesnake: it is merely because the rattlesnake has not speech. Monarchy has speech, and by it has been able to persuade men that it differs some-

[3] *Ibid.,* pp. 323-24.

[4] Albert Bigelow Paine, *Mark Twain; a Biography* (New York and London, 1912), p. 1230.

[5] *Ibid.,* p. 333.

> how from the rattlesnake, has something valuable about it somewhere, something worth preserving, something even good and high and fine, when properly "modified," something entitling it to protection from the club of the first comer who catches it out of its hole. It seems a most strange delusion and not reconcilable with our superstition that man is a reasoning being. If a house is afire, we reason confidently that it is the first comer's plain duty to put the fire out in any way he can—drown it with water, blow it up with dynamite, use any and all means to stop the spread of the fire and save the rest of the city. What is the Czar of Russia but a house afire in the midst of a city of eighty millions of inhabitants? . . .
>
> Of course I know that the properest way to demolish the Russian throne would be by revolution. But it is not possible to get up a revolution there; so the only thing left to do, apparently, is to keep the throne vacant by dynamite until a day when candidates shall decline with thanks.[6]

Doubtless Clemens was unwilling to risk the adverse reaction which would probably have followed the publication of this letter, for it was never sent.

"The Czar's Soliloquy" was written in response to the Bloody Sunday massacre. On 9 Jan. 1905 (O.S.) in St. Petersburg an orderly, peaceful group of marchers bearing a petition to the tsar listing their grievances was fired upon by troops and hundreds were killed and wounded. The world was shocked, and ready for "The Czar's Soliloquy." As *Free Russia* stated, when Grand Duke Serge Aleksandrovich was assassinated in early February, the usual comparisons were not drawn between his assassination and that of our presidents.[7] The favorable response to "The Czar's Soliloquy" led Clemens to write *King Leopold's Soliloquy*.[8]

The Russian translation of "The Czar's Soliloquy" was published by the Socialist Revolutionary Party, which, unlike Lenin's Social Democratic Party, considered terrorism an effective political weapon and had a special organization devoted to terrorism, with quite remarkable results. During the first decade of this century, their terrorist organization assassinated three ministers of the interior and a grand duke, as well as many lesser officials. One can imagine the delight with which "The Czar's Soliloquy," written by an eminent American author, was received by the Socialist Revolutionary Party.

Herewith is a reproduction of the front of the wrapper which serves as the title-page: Translation: . . . The Autocrat of all the Russias. Table of contents: . . . [Geneva] v tipografii P. S.-R., 1905

[6] Albert Bigelow Paine, ed., *Mark Twain's Letters* (New York and London, 1917), pp. 536-37. The entire text of the letter is on pp. 535-38.

[7] Edmund Noble, "American Views of Russian Assassination" in *Free Russia*, 16, no. 4, pp. 50-51. On p. 51 there is also printed a considerable extract from "The Czar's Soliloquy."

[8] Paine, *Mark Twain; a Biography*, p. 1230.

[1]-2, an anonymous poem; 3-8, Mark Twain, Monolog Nikolai II [The Soliloquy of Nicholas II] 6″ x 4 5/16″. The wrapper is of printed green paper. An unusual feature of this pamphlet for Russian revolutionary literature is that the inner sides of the wrappers are illustrated with cartoons—one from the *Brooklyn Eagle* and the other from *Simplicissimus*.

Another edition, with additional material by the Socialist Revolutionary Vladimir Burtsev, was published in Berlin by Hugo Steinits in 1906 as No. 127 of the "Collection of the Best Russian Works."

KENNETH E. CARPENTER

The Houghton Library, Harvard University

A. E. Housman's Poetry in Book-Titles: III

Forty books bearing titles selected from the poetry of A. E. Housman were described in my article published in the *Papers* for the first quarter of 1955 (Vol. 49, pp. 69-77); and eleven additional books were listed in a supplement that appeared just three years later (Vol. 52, pp. 62-64). I now have to report sixteen new candidates for this rapidly growing collection—ten of them published within the last three years. Additional A. E. H. titles are constantly coming to light in the dealers' catalogues, and it will be seen that this supplement, like my first, contains some items with publication dates prior to the 1955 report.

Fool's Errand, by Alexander Laing (Garden City: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1928). Poems.

Last Poems 9, line 16: "Fare on our long fool's-errand to the grave"

Quotation following title-page: *LP* 9, lines 13-16, followed by:—A. E. Housman.

Another Night, Another Day, by John Klempner (New York: Scribners, 1941). Novel.

A Shropshire Lad 43, line 4: "Another night, another day"

Quotations: Opposite title-page *ASL* 43, lines 1-4, followed by:—A. E. Housman: "The Immortal Part." The title-line is spoken by a character, p. 160. Heading of Book III: ANOTHER DAY.

Nothing but the Night, by John Williams (Denver: Alan Swallow, 1948). Novel.

A Shropshire Lad 60, line 8: "There's nothing but the night"

No quotation.

Golden Amber Shore, by Kenneth Duncan (Atlanta: Tupper & Love, 1954). Novel.

More Poems 33, line 10: "The gold and amber shore"[1]

[1] So printed in the American edition of *More Poems* (New York: Knopf, 1936). The *Collected Poems* published by Jonathan Cape in 1939 mistakenly presented this line as "The amber-sanded shore," and this error was reproduced in the New York edition, issued by Henry Holt the following year. The correct reading of the line was restored in the Centennial Edition of 1959.

Quotation opposite title-page: *MP* 33, lines 9-12, followed by:—Alfred E. Housman. (How the change from Housman's *gold and amber* to the title *Golden Amber* came about is a curiosity that is not explained.)

The Heel of Spring, by Frank Rooney (New York: Vanguard, 1956). Novel.
More Poems 5, lines 9-10: "... hard on the heel of spring | Treads summer. ..."

Quotation on leaf following title-page: *MP*, lines 9-10, followed by: A. E. Housman *Later* [*sic*] *Poems*.

Nothing but the Night, by James Yaffee (Boston: Little, Brown, 1957). Novel.
A Shropshire Lad 60, line 8: "There's nothing but the night"

Quotation on leaf following title-page: *ASL* 60, lines 5-8, followed by: "From a poem by A. E. Housman."

The Lost Country, by J. R. Salamanca (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1958). Novel.
More Poems 10, line 5: "It sighs from a lost country"

Quotation on page preceding opening of Chapter 1:

> Alas, the country whence I fare,
> It is where I would stay;
> And where I would not, it is there
> That I shall be for aye. [*More Poems* 8, lines 5-8]
>
> A. E. Housman

He Died Old, by Alfred Duggan (London: Faber, 1958). Biography.
A Shropshire Lad 62, last line: "Mithridates, he died old"

Quotation on title-page: the line quoted, followed by:—A. E. HOUSMAN, *A Shropshire Lad*.

Ask Me No More, by Pamela Frankau (London: Heinemann, 1958). Novel.
Additional Poems 6, lines 1, 4, 8: "Ask me no more, for fear I should reply"

Quotation on page 80: *ASL*, lines 1-4. Housman, rather than Carew or Tennyson, would seem to be the source of this title.

Shoulder the Sky, by George Leonard (New York: McDowell, Obolensky, 1959). Novel.
Last Poems 9, line 28: "Shoulder the sky, my lad, and drink your ale"

Quotation following title-page: *LP* 9, lines 25-28, followed by: A. E. Housman, *Last Poems* IX.

Shoulder the Sky, by Gil Thomas (London: Barker, 1959). Biography.

Quotation on final page (192): *LP* 9, lines 25-28.

The Endless Road, by Roger Treat (London: Secker & Warburg, 1959). Novel.
A Shropshire Lad 60, line 7: "In all the endless road you tread"

Quotations: On first recto after the dedication, the complete 8-line poem, followed by: Alfred E. Housman (SHROPSHIRE LAD). The same lines are spoken by a character on p. 109. There is a 6-line parody of the opening of *ASL* 13 ("When I was one-and-twenty" on p. 95.

One Spoilt Spring, by Beata Bishop (London: Faber, 1960). Novel.
Last Poems 9, line 5: "There's one spoilt spring to scant our mortal lot"
Quotation following title-page: *LP* 9, lines 1-8, followed by: A. E. HOUSMAN.

Soldier from the Wars Returning, by David Campton (London: ACTAC, 16 Cadogan Lane, 1960). Play.
Last Poems 8, line 1: "Soldier from the wars returning"
No quotation.

The Sky Suspended, by Drew Middleton (London: Secker & Warburg, 1960). History.
Last Poems 37, line 5: "Their shoulders held the sky suspended"
Quotations: on title-page *LP* 37, lines 5-6, followed by:

Epitaph on an Army of Mercenaries

A. E. Housman

Line 8 of the same poem is quoted on p. 240.

The Drums of Morning, by Rupert Croft-Cooke (London: Putnam, 1961). Biography.
A Shropshire Lad 4, line 10: "Hear the drums of morning play"
No quotation.

Two more books, both published in 1958, deserve passing mention here: George L. Watson's *A Divided Life* (Boston: Beacon Press), a biography of A. E. Housman, and T. H. White's collected Arthurian cycle, *The Once and Future King* (London: Collins). Quotations from Housman's poetry form the headings of each of the ten chapters of Mr. Watson's book, and his dedication is followed by line 4 of *More Poems* 42. Part II of Mr. White's tetralogy, originally published (1940) as *The Witch in the Wood*, was rewritten and renamed *The Queen of Air and Darkness*. This title is a borrowing of line 5 of *Last Poems* 3 ("Her strong enchantments failing"). Opposite the opening of Chapter 1 (p. 216) is quoted the final quatrain-stanza of *A Shropshire Lad* 28 ("The Welsh Marshes").

The tale of Housman-inspired titles now stands at sixty-seven, having mounted at the rate of about one to each eight months since the appearance of Storm Jameson's *The Happy Highways* in 1920. A remarkable tendency is shown in the sixteen new items: the duplication of *Shoulder the Sky* in this list raises to five the number of books flaunting that title; Croft-Cooke's *The Drums of Morning* is the third so named. These "repeats," taken with the twice-used *Nothing but the Night*, point to a striking concentration. Have all the selling phrases in A. E. Housman's four thousand lines been located and used? Or are writers selecting their titles from the many-splendored book-lists?

Tom Burns Haber

The Ohio State University

The First Edition of "The Moon and Sixpence"

Raymond Toole Stott's *The Writings of William Somerset Maugham* (London, 1956), describes, on pp. 37-38, three known issues for the first edition of *The Moon and Sixpence,* 1919. An examination of two copies in the W. L. Lewis Collection of rare books and manuscripts at Texas Christian University demonstrates the existence of Stott's conjectural fourth issue: "I have heard of a fourth issue in which the later advertisements again form an integral part of the last signature, but I have not met with a copy." The first, a presentation copy to Reginald Turner (flyleaf inscription "Reggie from his friend W. M. | May 1919."), fits Stott's description of the first issue, the final signature consisting of "six leaves, the last two of which are publisher's announcements. . . . On p. 2 of the advertisements there are listed six novels by Eden Phillpotts, seventeen by Flora Annie Steel and three by Israel Zangwill, the last of the three being 'Jinny the Carrier. (Ready Shortly)'. P. 4 includes an announcement of 'The Mad House' by William de Morgan."[1]

The second Lewis copy appears to be of the fourth issue, since its advertisements do form an integral part of the last signature. The advertisements in this copy agree with those in Stott's third issue, as far as they are described: ". . . there are seven works by Eden Phillpotts, seventeen by Flora Annie Steel [as in the first issue] and twelve by Zangwill, the last of which is 'Jinny the Carrier' without the '(Ready Shortly)'. P. 4 includes an announcement 'The Old Madhouse (a posthumous novel)' by William de Morgan, instead of 'The Mad House.' " These further points need to be described: On the first page of the advertisements *My Story* (in the first issue) has been deleted from the list of novels by Hall Caine, and "THE NOVELS OF WILLIAM DE MORGAN" is on two lines instead of one. The second page adds *A Storm in a Teacup* to the novels of Eden Phillpotts, lists those by Flora Annie Steel in two columns instead of one, and has twelve novels by Israel Zangwill instead of three—two of which are dropped. On page three the only change is the substitution, in the Dostoevsky list, of "THE HONEST THIEF AND OTHER STORIES" for "Other volumes to follow." Page four advertises nine novels, as does the first issue, but substitutes

[1] It is also in accord with the description of the first edition in R. F. Metzdorf (comp.), *The Tinker Library* (New Haven, 1959), p. 308 (no. 1544); Frederick T. Bason, *A Bibliography of the Writings of William Somerset Maugham* (London, 1931), p. 35; and with Klaus W. Jonas, *A Bibliography of the Writings of W. Somerset Maugham* (South Hadley, Mass., 1950), pp. 8-9, except for Jonas's description of the final signature in the first issue as having four leaves. As Stott points out, his own *Maughamiana* (London, 1950) is not reliable as to bibliographical conclusions (*The Writings . . .*, p. 132). Its "first issue" of *The Moon and Sixpence*, as Stott has at last concluded, does not exist. His *Supplement* (Derby, 1961) does not re-examine the first edition, which, as Metzdorf points out, can best be done by "ranging all issues side by side."

The Bonfire, by Anthony Brendan, for *Luke*, by Jasper James; and the first (*Java Head*), seventh (*A Sailor's Home*), and ninth (*The Stingy Receiver*) have descriptive material added.[2]

Lyle H. Kendall, Jr.

Texas Christian University

[2] These points are consistent with those described by Metzdorf as characteristic of copies with advertisements on stubs.

News and Notes

Edited by Herbert Cahoon

The summer meeting of the Bibliographical Society of America, sponsored jointly by the Midwest, Mississippi Valley, and Great Plains Regional Boards, took place on the afternoon of 10 July at the Rowfant Club in Cleveland. On behalf of these Regional Boards, Lawrence S. Thompson introduced Lyon N. Richardson, Director of University Libraries at Western Reserve University, who in turn introduced the speakers. Kenneth Nebenzahl, bookseller of Chicago, spoke on "A Stone Thrown at the Map-Maker: A Preliminary Investigation of the Effect the Invention of Lithography Had on Map Publishing"; Robert Vosper, at that time Director of Libraries, University of Kansas, and now at UCLA, told of "A Pair of Bibliomanes for Kansas: Ralph Ellis and Thomas Jefferson Fitzpatrick"; David Kaser, Director, Joint University Libraries, Nashville, concluded the program with "A Dagger and Sword Cane: Six Years in the Life of a Frontier Printer." All of the papers were as provocative as their titles; Mr. Vosper's appears in this issue and it is hoped that the others may follow. The day was oppressively hot and about 125 members and guests crowded into Rowfant Hall; the reception which followed at the air-conditioned Sahara Motel was welcome relaxation.

The next meeting of the BSA will be held at the Grolier Club, New York City, on Friday, 26 Jan. 1962, at 2:30 P.M.

At the Council meeting in Cleveland the resignation of Alexander Davidson, Jr., as Treasurer was accepted with regret, and William S. Glazier was elected to succeed him.

The Rare Books Conference held at Oberlin, Ohio, from 6-8 July, under the auspices of the Rare Books Section of the Association of College and Research Libraries of the American Library Association, emphasized the care and preservation of rare books and manuscripts. Panel discussions of rules and regulations for the use of these types of material, its marking, shelving, maintenance, and finally its conservation, repair, and rebinding, were attended by about 150 librarians and curators. Plans were announced for a Rare Books Conference to be held next year from 15-17 June in Coral Gables, Florida, with

book illustration as a probable theme. The officers for the coming year are Mrs. Frances Brewer, Detroit Public Library, Chairman, and Miss Hannah D. French, Wellesley College Library, Secretary; H. Richard Archer, Chapin Library, Williams College, is Chairman-elect.

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Dr. Dorothy M. Schullian, chief of the History of Medicine Division of the National Library of Medicine in Cleveland, and a member of the Council of the BSA, will become Curator of the History of Science Collections at Cornell University Libraries this fall. She will be in charge of reorganizing and expanding Cornell's substantial and important History of Science Collection, which, since the days of President Andrew Dickson White, has been one of the best of its kind in the United States.

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During the first week of July, 1961, the Longwood Library was removed from Longwood Gardens, near Kennett Square, Pennsylvania, to Greenville, near Wilmington, Delaware, where it was combined with the Hagley Museum Library to become the Eleutherian Mills Historical Library. Dr. Charles W. David continues as its Director. The core of the collections of the merged institution consists of the voluminous manuscript and printed accumulations of the Du Pont family over a period of almost two hundred years and the surviving records of the Du Pont Company during the first century of its existence (1802-1902) together with certain later Company materials. To this there has been added a considerable amount of primary material from the archives of other old business firms in the Brandywine and surrounding areas, and a substantial supporting reference library. The intent is to create a research library which will be increasingly important for research in the industrial and business history of eastern Pennsylvania, southern New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland.

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English scholars who plan a visit to the United States in 1962 include Mr. K. J. Fielding, a member of the advisory board of the Pilgrim edition of "The Letters of Charles Dickens," who will be here from about 24 Mar. to 8 May, and Mr. J. C. T. Oates, Under-librarian of the University Library, Cambridge, compiler of the catalogue of fifteenth-century printed books in that library, the dates of whose visit are not yet known. Mr. Fielding's trip coincides with the 150th anniversary of the birth of Dickens and the 120th of his first visit to America.

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At the 10 July meeting of the BSA in Cleveland, Frederick R. Goff reported that as of 28 June, 7,904 entries have been edited and typed for the *Third Census of Fifteenth Century Books in American Libraries* and that the manuscript comprises 1,352 typewritten pages. The new *Census* is now midway in the letter M, but records of recent acquisitions are still welcomed at headquarters in the Library of Congress. The *Supplement* to De Ricci and Wilson's *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada,* edited by W. H. Bond, is being proofread and indexed; publication by the end of this year may be possible. An advance copy of the Kraus Reprint Corporation's reprinting of the original De Ricci *Census* reached this office in mid-August; the volumes are attractive and sturdily bound and the letterpress, probably because of contrasting paper, seems even stronger than that in the original edition.

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The series of exhibitions at the Grolier Club for this season opened on 12 Sept. with *The Dramatic Works of W. S. Gilbert;* this will be followed by the following: *The Influence of Italy on American Literature,* 17 Oct.-4 Dec.; *The Work of Edward Lear,* 12 Dec.-12 Feb.; *The Book of India and Persia,* 20 Feb.-9 April; *Demonology and Witchcraft,* 17 April-16 June. An exhibition of *Calligraphy and Handwriting in America* will be held at the Peabody Institute Library in Baltimore from 1 Nov.-31 Dec., and a catalogue will be issued.

Book Reviews

Edited by LAWRENCE S. THOMPSON

BLAGDEN, CYPRIAN, *The Stationers' Company: a History 1403-1959*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960. 321 pp. $8.00.

In his history of the ancient Stationers' Company of London Mr. Cyprian Blagden reveals far more of men than of books. This need not disappoint unduly those of us who long have pondered the dour format of most British imprints of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. We find our answer to this and many other questions in Mr. Blagden's exhaustive scrutiny, as he rightly calls it, of the very extensive archives of this small but relatively powerful liveried company. In his preface he explains his efforts to see that his account is well balanced. He succeeded; and if at times the sheer weight of minutiae finds a reader derailed from the general train of events, there is an excellent companionate volume available to assist in readjusting the focus on both men and books: Miss P. M. Handover's *Printing in London from 1476 to Modern Times*, which covers much of the same territory in a different manner.

Mr. Blagden's concern is with "patterns of gild behavior" rather than with printing, publishing, or typefounding. "The message of humanism," wrote Mr. Raymond Irwin in his *Origins of the English Library*, "was conveyed in no small measure by the printed book." The chief disappointment of this study of the Stationers' records lies in the fact that the Stationers as a body apparently cared little for the spread of the message of humanism. For centuries the life of the gild depended on the production and sale of copies of the psalms and psalters, of almanacks and ABC's; and the phrase, "Entered at Stationers' Hall" was the Company's very life. The stock, particularly the English Stock, was the center of most of the gild activity. When it was no longer productive of at least 12½ per cent annual dividend, the power of the Company as a dominant factor in the publishing world had ceased to exist.

The Company's archives reveal an endless jockeying for power among the hierarchies of membership. Mr. Blagden explores in greatest detail the financial practices, gild policies, effects of Star Chamber edicts, of Civil War and restoration, of the effects of changing loyalties of crown and cleric, of fire, pestilence, and finally of bombing raids. Throughout the book there is the struggle to break through the stock-merchandizing monopoly. From entries in the record Mr. Blagden develops a picture of a typical Stationer, of a typical year of gild activities, of the rivalry between the provinces and the metropolis, between the Sta-

tioners' Company and the Universities. Familiar names assume more personality: Miles Flesher, the Days, the Barkers and Nortons, Sir Roger L'Estrange, William Strahan, etc. Fresh evidence of Bishop Fell's printing interests comes to light.

The closing chapters detail the growing senescence of the Company, its failure to reckon with horizontal developments such as labor unions, its loss of copyright and registry functions, scandals caused by misuse of funds, and inability to cope with nineteenth-century developments. Mr. Blagden faithfully recounts the founding of a school for printers; the disposition of real estate, halls, and even a barge. The record becomes increasingly lifeless though Mr. Blagden, himself a liveryman of the Company, optimistically suggests the possibility for greater service now that the Stationers have combined forces with the younger gild of Newspaper Makers.

Much labor went into the making of excellent appendices and the index appendices. His "Notes on the Records and on Secondary Sources" is particularly valuable. Harvard University Press has provided a format which is attractive and suitable.

Perhaps the author's firmness in sticking to the record is the reason why this reader finished this book with a mind full of questions and surmises, especially about that matter of design. Would the average English imprint have been aesthetically more desirable over the centuries if Caxton had been primarily a printer? Or a member of the Stationers' Company? Suppose their charter had required all Stationers to be handlers of books. Would not competition, eliminated by early strictures against foreigners and aliens as well as books, have improved the parochialism of the English format? Why hadn't England produced an Aldus, a Tory or an Estienne, a Froben or a Plantin? Why are so few Stationers notable in the last half of the eighteenth century when excellence of printing and scholarship did develop in England? The name of neither Baskerville nor of John Bell appears in the index of this volume—though not through any remissness on the part of Mr. Blagden. Nor can we find the name of Bulmer or of the English Bentleys, and only slight note of Nichols, the Tonsons, and the Bowyers.

Judging solely from these records, one can only marvel that Britain has produced for the western world its ideal of freedom of the press, and that modern English typography is considered to be a model of conservative excellence. Emery Walker probably was not a Stationer although Mr. Stanley Morison may be a member of the new regime or an honorary one. Certainly the flocks of Penguins owe much of their success to the participation of foreign designers, now more than welcome in Britain.

Frances L. S. Dugan

University of Kentucky

DEKKER, THOMAS. *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker.* Edited by Fredson Bowers. Volume IV. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1961. viii, 418 pp. $8.50.

This, the fourth volume of Professor Bowers' old-spelling text of the plays of Thomas Dekker, is the last he promises. He says that with it "the textual editor's assignment is completed." He believes he has included all the plays in his edition which we can be reasonably sure Dekker wrote or had an important hand in, and he will not himself furnish us with such apparatus as biography, stage history, explanatory notes, etc. Such a task may be attempted—but by someone else. Let us hope it is accomplished, for the excellent text here completed after years of painstaking work deserves such serviceable addition.

Besides *The Sun's Darling* and two Lord Mayor's Entertainments (*Britannia's Honor* and *London's Tempe*) always accounted Dekker's work, the volume contains *Lust's Dominion, The Noble Spanish Soldier,* and *The Welsh Ambassador* which, if not wholly Dekker's, have enough of his work in them to be included in any complete edition. The rejection of *Blurt Master Constable* and *The Family of Love* seems less justifiable. Finally, Professor Bowers has added some twelve pages of corrections and revisions for the three earlier volumes. Among these is the very important addition to the notes to *The Honest Whore* derived from the only perfect copy of *The Converted Courtesan,* now in the Bute Collection of the National Library of Scotland.

The editorial practices in this volume follow precisely those of the earlier volumes, having the same merits, subject to the same limitations. Not the editor's theories and speculations, but the author's intentions are paramount. Conditions in the printing-house are to be completely realized. Such considerations as play-house practices, biography, and stage history unfortunately are neglected. Nevertheless, Professor Bowers has given us the best text of Dekker we have or are ever likely to have. He is to be congratulated on the completion of such an extensive and distinguished text.

THOMAS B. STROUP

University of Kentucky

FISHER, IRVING NORTON, comp. *A Bibliography of the Writings of Irving Fisher.* New Haven: Yale University Library, 1961. 543 pp. $10.00.

The bibliography under review describes the output that won Irving Fisher the all-time record for number of works displayed at a Yale Fiftieth Reunion, an easy win over such an able contender as Billy Phelps. It contains more than two thousand items, which is a staggering number from a writer who spent his

working years as a professor of economics. As might be guessed, his professional obligations account for only a small part of the listed titles; most of them resulted from his pursuit of publication-breeding reforms such as peace, the League of Nations, health, eugenics, prohibition, and stable money.

Nor was writing on his pet reform projects his only leisure activity. This is evident since he managed to accumulate ten million dollars through marriage, invention, and speculation, of which, alas, he eventually lost every penny. His affluence enabled him to allow few obstacles to stand in the way of publication. Once, wishing to have a clean copy of a manuscript he had revised on shipboard, he radioed ahead an order that ten stenographers be flown (this was 1927) from London to meet him in Paris! At his New Haven residence he continually employed a large staff which not only multiplied his publications but also made the present bibliography feasible by scrupulously preserving most of his ephemera.

We are indebted to Irving Norton Fisher for this bibliography and for its complementary biography, *My Father, Irving Fisher* (1956). Specifically, the bibliography is a location guide for anyone using the Irving Fisher Collection now at Yale. More generally, it serves the restricted uses of many specialists for whom its efficacy is increased by a hundred-page subject index at the end. It is indispensable to those especially interested in Irving Fisher, by whom it might even be read as well as consulted, for the chronological procession of titles gives the advantages of an aerial view of Irving Fisher's intimate involvement in a sixty-year span of American intellectual history.

R. S. Howey

University of Kansas

Foakes, R. A., and Rickert, R. T., edd. *Henslowe's Diary*. Edited with supplementary material, introduction, and notes. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1961. 368 pp. $11.50.

Editors Foakes and Rickert have succeeded in their purpose of making "available again the text of the chief source for theatrical history between 1590 and 1604, Henslowe's *Diary*, and the fragments and manuscripts associated with it, in as convenient a form as possible." They have wrought in a single volume, from a fresh transcript of the material, a carefully edited text and presented it in an attractive format with all of the necessary scholarly apparatus.

Appropriately, the editors dedicate their work "To the memory of Sir Walter Greg," whose *Henslowe's Diary Part I. Text*, 1904, is superseded by the new edition. It would be inaccurate, however, to say that the new work supplants completely Greg's "monumental edition," which includes also his *Henslowe's*

Diary Part II. Commentary, 1908, and his *Henslowe Papers Being Documents Supplementary to Henslowe's Diary*, 1907. Foakes and Rickert do not undertake, as Greg did in his *Commentary*, "to discuss as fully as possible those companies and events actually mentioned in the Diary. . . ." Thus it can hardly be said that Greg's *Commentary* of four hundred pages has been supplanted, although it should be noted that some of its details will probably have to be re-examined as a result of the work of Foakes and Rickert. They point out, for instance, in their "Introduction" that the *Commentary* perpetuates some "doubtful assumptions," such as Fleay's view that Henslowe was "an illiterate moneyed man, . . ." and some "dubious interpretations," such as those given to explain the meaning of Henslowe's "ne" and "lined entries." These and similar matters are handled with restraint and economy by the editors as they draw together and evaluate the work of their predecessors. Moreover, the editors do not press their theories and conclusions: rather, they present their views as examples showing the need for further and close scrutiny of the text of *Henslowe's Diary* "as the primary source for the theatrical history of the Elizabethan age."

The fragments and manuscripts associated with the *Diary* and included in the appendices to the present edition are also edited from fresh transcriptions of the material. Inasmuch as the editors limit these appendices to matter "associated with" the *Diary*, much of the Henslowe material is omitted, and consequently is available only in Greg's *Henslowe Papers*, 1907, now out of print and difficult to obtain. For this reason, one would wish that Foakes and Rickert had omitted the appendices and reworked instead (as a companion volume for their edition of the text of the *Diary*) the material printed in Greg's *Henslowe Papers*. Nevertheless, they have, with distinction, provided once more for students, teachers, and scholars the text of a document basic to an understanding of Elizabethan drama.

Ernest L. Rhodes

The Norfolk College of William and Mary

Fowler, Laurence Hall, and Baer, Elizabeth. *The Fowler Architectural Collection of The Johns Hopkins University*. Baltimore: The Evergreen House Foundation, 1961. xvi, 388 pp., plates. $20.00.

The catalogue of an architectural library compiled by the collector himself and the librarian of the collection, this is a handsome volume containing thirty plates beautifully reproduced from books of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries.

Laurence Hall Fowler, a practicing Baltimore architect for more than forty years, followed in the footsteps of great American builders such as Jefferson,

Town and Davis, and McKim, Mead and White in assembling a private library of fine editions showing the orders and other designs, and views of European buildings of note. Fowler's conversion to bibliophily occurred during his attendance at Columbia University through use of the Avery Library, which is the most extensive and valuable collection of books on architecture in America, if not in the world.

On his first trip to Europe, early in the present century, Fowler acquired the 1565 Bartoldi edition of Alberti's work, the third Italian edition (1619) of Serlio, and Vignola's *Perspective* of 1644. These books indicate the taste of the collector, who originally intended to specialize in volumes having to do with the Roman authority Vitruvius, and the five great protagonists of the Renaissance (adding Palladio and Scamozzi to the three referred to previously). Eventually he succeeded in acquiring forty editions of Vitruvius, fourteen of Alberti, thirty-three of Serlio, thirty-nine of Vignola, thirty-two of Palladio, and twelve of Scamozzi.

The works mentioned constitute well over a third of the Fowler collection of 448 items. The balance is made up of other sixteenth- to eighteenth-century Italian, French, and German books, seventeenth- to early nineteenth-century English publications, and a few seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Dutch and Spanish tomes. The collection, therefore, includes the illustration sources through which the monuments of antiquity were offered as archetypes to the architects and dilettantes of the Renaissance, the architectural endeavors and theoretical authorities of the sixteenth-century Italian masters, and the results of these influences in Western Europe and the British Isles.

It is interesting that many of the authors and titles in the Fowler library also were owned by Thomas Jefferson and other contemporaries who helped formulate the architectural trend in the United States. The British models made the greatest impression here, and the present collection contains examples of the architecture of Colin Campbell, William Chambers, and Inigo Jones, builder's guides by Gibbs, Halfpenny, Swan, and Pugin, and Stuart and Revett's *Antiquities of Athens*, which touched off the Greek Revival style that enjoyed far more popularity in the New World than anywhere in the Old World, becoming virtually the American national architectural mode during the half century preceding the Civil War.

The Fowler Architectural Collection was given to The Johns Hopkins University in 1945 and is now housed in the John Work Garrett Library, designed by Lawrence Hall Fowler, the donor himself.

CLAY LANCASTER

GETTMANN, ROYAL A. *A Victorian Publisher: A Study of the Bentley Papers.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1960. xi, 272 pp. $7.50.

Firmly based on extensive examination of the ledgers, letter-books, and other papers of the House of Bentley, this book provides fascinating material for the student both of Victorian publishing and of Victorian fiction. But Mr. Gettmann, seeking useful generalizations and widely applicable insights, daringly treats the Bentleys as typical publishers of the era, and one may wonder if his evidence is broad enough fully to support all his generalizations and conclusions.

After sketching the position of the publisher in the early nineteenth century and giving a brief history of Bentley's, Gettmann devotes chapters to the series of cheap books, such as the National Library of General Knowledge, which were popular from the late 1820's through the 1830's, to the problems of advertising, especially the branch called puffing, to agreements between author and publisher, to the question of determining profit and loss on a given book, to the distinction between a book that is a work of art and one that is an article of commerce, to the publisher's reader, and to the three-decker, the prevailing form of the novel during most of the period. In each chapter assigned to a particular aspect of publishing, Gettmann first outlines the subject in general terms and then proceeds to discuss it with detailed reference to the practice of Bentley's. He deliberately fills his pages with "titles, sums of money, sizes of editions, and numbers of copies sold," along with "revealing glimpses of writers engaged in what Carlyle described as the 'wondrous chaos of "Author by trade." ' " And it is only fair to say that he fulfills his aim of producing "a study of the problems of nineteenth-century publishing as they are embedded in the records of Richard Bentley and Son."

If doubts persist, if the reader is left with too many tantalizing glimpses, with too many illustrative examples that are still too narrowly chosen to support the theses advanced, the difficulty is perhaps inherent in Gettmann's approach. We still need a "full-dress history of the House of Bentley" and of as many other publishing houses as we can get. We need full publication of records; we need to know a great deal more about the relationship of publishers with other publishers, of authors with publishers, about publisher's readers, about confidential clerks like Bentley's Edward Morgan, about publishers themselves and what sort of men they were. In other words, a great deal more material must be gathered and published before we can come to broadly safe conclusions or can write a sound history of Victorian publishing. In the meantime we can be very grateful to Mr. Gettmann for his tentative findings and for his venturesome exploration of a still relatively unknown area.

One regrets that such an able student of the Victorians as Mr. Gettmann

should—no doubt inadvertently—give the impression of condescension towards them. Their frequently mentioned naïveté, for example, is surely no worse than our naïveté—of which we are of course presently unaware. If on the other hand he did not defend the Bentleys so vigorously, the reader might be inclined to view them more sympathetically. One might add, by the way, that some evidence exists (see "Letters of Horace Smith to His Publisher Colburn," ed. Hyder E. Rollins, *Harvard Library Bulletin* III (1949), 359-70) that Colburn is not so uniformly black as he is made to appear.

The index is disappointingly thin for a scholarly work. Those interesting if very minor devotees of the Romantics, the Samuel Ralph Townshend Mayers, who are discussed as publisher's readers (pp. 193, 198, 205, 206, 210, 223), do not, for example, appear in it, and full references are not given for all figures who are indexed (as an instance, Charles Ollier is additionally mentioned on p. 67 and discussed as a reader for Bentley on pp. 198, 202, 206, 213, and 227).

But I should like in conclusion to emphasize the importance and value of *A Victorian Publisher,* based as it is on a vast amount of perceptive research, not only in providing us with fresh data and insights, but also in giving renewed impetus to the urgent work of investigating and recording the history of Victorian publishing.

David Bonnell Green

Boston University

Greg, Walter Wilson. *A Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration.* Volume IV, Introduction, Additions, Corrections, Index of Titles. London: Printed for the Bibliographical Society at the University Press, Oxford, 1959. xi, clxxiv, 1643-1752. (Illustrated monographs. No. XXIV, 4.)

The posthumously published last volume of Sir Walter Greg's *Bibliography* is devoted to his introduction to the whole work together with *addenda* and *corrigenda*. The introduction, of some 170 pages, discusses his methods and the principles underlying them; it also contains the many fascinating asides on printing and publishing practice of the period that readers of Greg have come to expect. But perhaps one's chief impression on reading the introduction is that with whatever intelligence, precision, and industry (and in all of these Greg was a giant) one endeavors to order bibliographical facts, the final product can never be perfectly orderly. On almost every page, Greg appears to be saying, "Any principle one may adopt here is unsatisfactory. For the following reasons

I have chosen X. But I have felt bound to include the following which do not really fit. And I fear my procedure has not been fully consistent." Essentially Greg is pragmatic, but he has so codified his approach that his pragmatism appears to be struggling with principle. At least he recognizes the struggle and attempts to bind no one else to his system.

The problem can be seen at its most extreme in "Excursus I—Dating and Ordering of Plays." Having rejected the idea of alphabetical arrangement by authors on the grounds (among others) "that for an appreciable portion of the Elizabethan drama the notion of individual authorship has little significance," and alphabetical arrangement according to titles as being the least significant (though in common, I imagine, with most readers my first step in using Greg is to turn to the index of titles), Greg decided on a chronological arrangement. However, the limits and accuracy with which any given play can be dated vary widely, and Greg has had to compose a large number of conventions for the expression of the date of a play, and then an overall convention for the order in which these should be arranged. His specimen runs:

(5 Nov. 1602) 1603
before June 1603
before 30 June 1603
(before 30 June) 1603
20 May-30 June 1603
10-20 June 1603
June 1603
20-30 June 1603
30 June 1603
? 30 June 1603
about 30 June 1603
? about 30 June 1603
about June 1603
1595-1603
1600?-1603
1602-3
1603
(after 30 June) 1603
(20 Feb. 1604) 1603
(6 Jan.-24 Mar. 1604) 1603
? 1600-1603
about 1600-1603
1600-? 1603
? 1602-3
about 1602-3
? 1603
(collection) 1603

Of this the criticism must be made that no one except the author could keep the details of this order in his head and that in most cases the user does not already know the date of the play he is seeking, except in general terms. The arrangement may be significant, but it is hardly practical for the ordinary user. Greg himself admits (p. cvii, footnote) "I have had to confess that now and again I have misapplied my own rules . . . I gladly pass over a painful subject."

Painful indeed it is to see a man of Greg's capacity vainly trying to impose an obscure order on such difficult material: and one wonders how much energy has been squandered on this bibliography that might have been spent in writing more of the historical and critical works which we would have gladly had from

Greg's pen. Similar considerations apply to the individual entries in the preceding volumes. The quasi-facsimile transcriptions and the ingenious conventions of description that Greg devised give as much information as one can expect from a bibliographical description. Yet for most users the greater part of this information is unnecessary, while those few who are working in greater detail on individual plays will almost always have access to original or photographic copies of the play itself—and will often find matter of importance which Greg has failed to find or which his system had to ignore. This is only to say that a bibliographer working on an individual play will always discover more about it than a bibliographer working on a thousand; should not the latter therefore limit his efforts to making the specialist's task more easy rather than trying to do his work for him?

Bibliography rigidly applied is a most inhuman discipline; it calls for perfection of description, of knowledge of system and of arrangement. Greg was better fitted to meet these requirements than any of his day: yet we have here many pages of corrections and many confessions of failure of system. Surely the lesson for us is that we cannot hope to do better than what he attempted: and that we should aim at something more within our grasp—something more informal, more explicitly flexible, leaving more work on the individual book to be done by those whose special concern it is. On this view, the bibliographer should attempt to provide all the signposts he can for those that come after him, rather than attempting to bring down the Tables of the Law which the very format of these volumes suggests.

D. F. Foxon

British Museum

Hill, Claude, and Ralph Ley. *The Drama of German Expressionism; a German-English Bibliography.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960. xi, 211 pp. $6.50 cloth; $5.00 paper.

In recent years interest in expressionistic literature has increased sharply. The trend is reflected by the appearance of a number of specialized studies and doctoral dissertations in progress dealing with this movement. In the summer of 1960, a comprehensive exhibit of first editions, autograph letters, and graphic materials held at the Schiller National-Museum at Marbach, Germany, attracted thousands of visitors.

The need for a scholarly bibliography such as this is therefore quite apparent. Designed for the student of contemporary drama, it lists over 4,000 items in German and English. Although the compilers do not pretend to have reached absolute completeness, they have clearly attempted to achieve a reasonable de-

gree of comprehensiveness in what must have been a gigantic task. For this effort they deserve the gratitude of every friend of German literature.

The organization of their bibliography makes it invaluable for quick reference. A first part comprises almost 700 studies on expressionistic literature, beginning with the general and proceeding to the particular, but disregarding individual authors. The listings include histories of literature and the drama, books, dissertations, and articles. Items in English are separated from those in German, monographs and dissertations from articles.

Part Two presents the literature by and about sixteen selected representatives of the drama of this movement. These author bibliographies, each of them broken down into ten sections, comprise the dramatic publications of the authors in German and in English, their non-fictional works, and the critical literature in the two languages. Expressionists who were not primarily playwrights but who did write several dramas (*e.g.*, Ivan Goll), were unfortunately not considered. In specific cases this pattern has been modified to meet individual needs: thus, German literature by and about Bert Brecht was not included because of the existence of an exhaustive bibliography published in *Sinn und Form* (Berlin), X (1957), 481-623. Occasionally additional subdivisions became necessary to focus the reader's attention onto the political development of authors whose works were either suppressed after 1933, or else have been overrated. The book ends with a play index and an author index.

Since the large amount of material available made a high degree of selectivity necessary, one may ask whether the inclusion of brief notices in such publications as *Booklist*, *Kirkus*, and *Wilson Bulletin*, along with reviews of theater performances, was justifiable. Had Wolfgang Paulsen's study, *Georg Kaiser* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1960) with its excellent critical bibliography been available to the compilers, items 1852-54 and 1857 would not have erroneously found their way into this book.

A reference work such as this can fulfill its true purpose only if it is a reliable research tool. The 73 last-minute intercalations into the consecutive numbering system, however, do not inspire much confidence in the book's accuracy; little consistency is found in quoting titles; variant spellings and abbreviations and odd separations of words (Geschi-chte, item 333) are as numerous as faulty grammar (*Das* Prosa des Expressionismus, item 496). Perhaps there could have been a system of cross-references to avoid unnecessary repetitions such as repeated listings of the same items (129 and 151, 1195 and 3332 A are identical). The addition of a single list of journals could easily have eliminated numerous mentions of the place of publication ("Moscow" ten times on pp. 27-31 in connection with the periodical *Das Wort*). In some cases the works of the same author are listed under two different names: Kurt Tucholsky and Ignaz

Wrobel, his pseudonym; Hugh F. Garten and Hugo F. Königsgarten, his former name. Misspellings were noticed in the names of Cäsar von Arx, Edwin Björkman, H. Clurman, André von Gronicka, Max Herrmann-Neisse, Clemens Heselhaus, Werner Hollmann, Martin Rockenbach, René Schickele, Richard Sexau, and Alexander Woollcott. It will be imperative to correct misspellings in items 3, 15, 20, 61, 62, 71, 93, 188, 229, 251, 333, 345, 496, 505, 551, 574, 627, 1178, 1830, 1845, 2199, 2248, 2330, 2549, 2809, 3490, 3499, 3501, 3617, 3628, 3650, 3689, 3810, 3818, 3898, 3909, 3963, and on page 134 under Sorge.

It is this reviewer's hope that the demand for a reliable, authoritative bibliographical guide to German expressionism will soon justify a second, revised edition which could become a standard reference work for one of the most fascinating periods in modern German culture.

Klaus W. Jonas

University of Pittsburgh

Johnson, Elmer D. *Of Time and Thomas Wolfe. A Bibliography with A Character Index of His Works.* New York: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1959. 226 pp. $5.00.

Mr. Johnson's bibliography is divided into eleven sections: books by Wolfe, periodical "articles" by Wolfe, parts of books by Wolfe, books and pamphlets about Wolfe, theses and dissertations, periodical articles about Wolfe, parts of books about Wolfe, poetry and fiction concerning Wolfe, brief notices in periodicals, brief notices in books, and miscellaneous.

In the first section Mr. Johnson lists and describes in one numerical sequence all the books of Wolfe's authorship, including not only the first American editions, but also later American editions, reprints, abridgments, and adaptations, editions published in England and Canada, and translations. The first American editions are arranged chronologically and under each are listed, also chronologically, all the later separate publications in one form or another of that particular title. At the very end, but in the same numerical sequence, thirteen books are listed alphabetically by title under the heading "Other books." These include three separately published excerpts from novels, four volumes of selections, and six books which seem to have been illogically removed from their proper positions in the main list: *The Correspondence of Thomas Wolfe and Homer Andrew Watt, The Crisis in Industry* (Wolfe's first separate publication, which should rightly have been the first item in the bibliography), *A Note on Experts, To Rupert Brooke, A Western Journal,* and . . . *"The Years of Wandering in many lands and cities."*

The arrangement of this section of the bibliography is not a happy one. All the

books are given equal weight, and as a result the significant editions are quite submerged. The descriptions of the books themselves will hardly bear close examination. There are, it seems to me, an overly generous number of errors in the transcriptions of the title-pages and in the descriptions of the bindings; and the pagination of each volume could almost without exception be presented in a more correct manner. A few of the more serious errors and omissions should be noted.

No mention is made of the advance copies of the first edition of *Look Homeward, Angel. Finn veien, engel!* was published in 1933 (not 1935), and it was issued in cloth, two volumes in one, without second title-page, as well as in paper wrappers, in two volumes, as described by Mr. Johnson. *Englen paa torvet* was issued in three-quarters leather, two volumes in one, as well as in paper wrappers, in two volumes. The title of the Armed Services (not Forces) edition of *Look Homeward, Angel* was taken from the front cover and not from the title-page, and the bibliography fails to note that the text is condensed. The translator of *Angelo, guarda il passato* is Jole Jannelli (not Janneli) Pintor. The Mitteldeutscher Verlag edition of *Schau heimwärts, Engel!*, published in Halle in 1955, is not listed. *Del tiempo y del río* was issued in a brown artificial leather binding, as well as in paper wrappers, and the translation was by Sara Kurlat de Lajmanovich (not Lajmamovich). *Il fiume e il tempo* (Milan, 1958) is not listed. *Vom Tod zum Morgen* (1937) was issued in paper wrappers, as well as in cloth. In the imprint of *Das Geweb aus Erde* the bibliography omits the date 1954 and the name Georg Müller is given as George Muller. The bibliography fails to include the English version of the publisher's name in the imprint of the first edition of *The Story of a Novel*. No mention is made of the fact that the English edition of *The Story of a Novel* consists of sheets of the American edition with an English title-page; and the "collation" of the English edition is not "the same as in the first edition," since, for one thing, the dedication leaf has been removed. Nor does Mr. Johnson note that at least one copy is known of the American edition with a Heinemann imprint pasted over the Scribner imprint. *Die Geschichte eines Romans* (Zurich, 1957) and *Storia di un romanzo* (Milan, 1958) are not listed. In the imprint of the first edition of *The Web and the Rock* the bibliography omits the date 1939 and gives the publisher as Harper and (instead of &) Brothers; no mention is made of the advance galleys and dummy of the book distributed by the publisher to the trade. The Pyramid Books edition of *The Hills Beyond* was published in 1958 (no date is given by Mr. Johnson). No mention is made of *The Face of a Nation* in blue cloth. *A Stone, A Leaf, A Door* consists of selections from five books and not merely from *Look Homeward, Angel* and *Of Time and the River*. Mr. Johnson apparently did not see copies of the following, for his descriptions of them are incomplete and in-

accurate: the Armed Services edition of *Of Time and the River*, the selections from *Of Time and the River* published in Berlin in 1939 with illustrations by Hans Orlowski, *To Rupert Brooke, What is Man?, Schau heimwärts, Engel!* (Berlin, 1954), *Strom des Lebens* (Berne, 1941), and *Es Führt kein Weg zurück* (Halle, 1955). Finally, the unpublished mimeographed scenario of Arthur Ripley's unproduced screenplay of *Look Homeward, Angel* should surely not have been listed in this section.

The section curiously entitled "Periodical Articles" contains in one alphabetical listing Wolfe's periodical appearances, including first appearances, reprintings, and translations. An obviously better arrangement would have been to have listed the first appearances chronologically, with separate listings for the reprintings and translations. Mr. Johnson is not consistent in giving the volume numbers, and in some cases even the page references are omitted. Errors have been noted in both volume and page references. Wolfe's letter in the *National Institute News Bulletin* IV (1938), 12, is not listed. The list includes only one article from *The Tar Heel*, of which Wolfe was editor during his senior year at North Carolina (a fact not mentioned by Mr. Johnson). Among the reprintings not listed are: "From the Letters of Thomas Wolfe," *Writer's Digest* XXXVII (Dec., 1956), 13-17; "La Marquise de Mornaye," *Encore* V (May, 1944), 531-35; and "October Has Come Again," *Encore* II (Oct., 1942), 473-77.

The third section, "Parts of Books," consists of an alphabetical listing of Wolfe's contributions to books, including first book appearances, parts of his own books, reprintings, and translations. Here again one must object to an arrangement which does not differentiate between the primary and the secondary. In many instances page references and dates of publication are not given. James D. Hart appears as James D. Hard, Bernard I. Duffey as Bernard J. Duffey, Whit Burnett as White Burnett and W. Burnette (which gives him two separate appearances in the index), Bernardine Kielty as Bernardine Kelty (and as Bernadine Kelty in the index), John Angus Burrell as Angus Burrell and J. A. Burrell (which gives *him* two separate appearances in the index), and Arno L. Bader as Arnold L. Bader. The word "modern" is lacking from the subtitle of Ann Watkins' *Taken at the Flood*, and the title of Lenka Franulic's *Antología del cuento norteamericano* is given as *Antologia del cuentos norteamericano*. (Throughout the bibliography little attention is paid to accent marks.) Four contributions which should have been included in this section are: "Ferne und Nähe," in *Kurz erzählt* (1949), pp. 280-84; Wolfe's letter to Perkins, 12 Aug. 1938, in *Editor to Author* (1950), p. 141; "Un Uomo: Bascom Hawke," in Elio Vittorini, ed., *Americana* (1947), pp. 906-60; and "Zirkus im Tagesgrauen," in Norbert Krejcik, ed., *Amerikanisches Literaturbrevier* (1954), pp.

262-68. Additional reprintings not noted are: "The Hollow Men," in *The Esquire Treasury* (1953), pp. 279-85; "A Prologue to America," in *Vogue's Fireside Book* (1944), pp. 9-15; and excerpts from both *The Web and the Rock* and *You Can't Go Home Again,* in Gladys E. Mansir, ed., *Life in America* (1941), pp. 291-338.

Section D, "Books and Pamphlets about Thomas Wolfe," includes nineteen titles. Daniel L. Delakas' *Thomas Wolfe, la France et les Romanciers Français* was a doctoral dissertation at the University of Paris in 1948 (not 1950), and it was published, in addition to the limited issue described by Mr. Johnson, as a "thèse pour le doctorat." The title of George M. Reeves, Jr.'s *Thomas Wolfe et l'Europe* is given as *Thomas Wolfe et Europe.* The "Asheville Edition" of Richard Walser's *The Enigma of Thomas Wolfe* is not noted. And Francisco Ynduráin's *Thomas Wolfe, Novelista Americano* (Madrid, 1954) is not listed.

In Section E, Mr. Johnson has recorded seventy-six theses and dissertations about Wolfe. He has excluded Mr. Delakas' doctoral dissertation from the list and there is no cross reference to it.

Section F, "Periodical Articles about Wolfe," is an alphabetical listing by author of 522 articles. Once again volume numbers are lacking in many of the references to magazine articles, and the references to most of the articles in newspapers fail to include the page numbers. The list is an impressive one, but it could be greatly enlarged. It would be possible, for example, to add articles and reviews by John Chamberlain, John Cournos, David Dempsey, Basil de Selincourt, Ketti Frings, Lewis Gannett, Granville Hicks, Pete Ivey, Dayton Kohler, Hans Meyerhoff, Orville Prescott, Harold U. Ribalow, Mark Schorer, Zdeněk Vančura, and others, as well as anonymous reviews in the *Times Literary Supplement* and other newspapers. The attention accorded Ketti Frings' adaptation of *Look Homeward, Angel* is not very well represented, and one should add to the list reviews of and articles about the play by Frank Aston, Brooks Atkinson, Max de Schauensee, Walter Kerr, Richard Watts, and others. The reference to Edward C. Aswell's article on Wolfe in *Playbill* should certainly have been to the issue for the week of 25 Nov. 1957, the opening week of *Look Homeward, Angel,* rather than to the issue for the week of 3 Feb. 1958. Mr. Johnson might have mentioned that May Cameron's interview with Wolfe published in the New York *Post* was largely written by Wolfe himself. The reference to the published abstract of Stanley L. Johnson's dissertation should have been included in the section devoted to theses and dissertations. In the titles of articles by P. W. Barber, Henry T. Volkening, and an anonymous author, the name Tom Wolfe appears in the bibliography as Thomas Wolfe, while the title of William Bentinck-Smith's "The Legend of Thomas Wolfe" is given as "The Legacy of Thomas Wolfe." Ernst Alker appears as Ernst Aiker, Henry

S. Canby as Harry S. Canby (as he does in four other places in the bibliography, as well as in the index), George W. Graice as George W. Grace, and Harold U. Ribalow as Harold H. Ribalow. For the *Wilson Bulletin* Mr. Johnson has *Wilson Library Bulletin*, for *Bonniers Litterära Magasin*, *Bonniers Litterara Magazin*, and for *Arts & Decoration*, *Arts and Decorations*.

Section G, "Parts of Books about Wolfe," is a useful checklist of 152 titles, but here also it is possible to point out a few errors of commission and omission. No page references are given for the essays by Brodin, Burgum, Guérard, Schoenberner, and Theunissen, and incorrect page references are given for Geismar (*Writers in Crisis*), McCole, Perkins (*Editor to Author*), Slochower, and Stovall. Beach's *American Fiction* was published in 1941 (not 1942) and Canby's *Designed for Reading* in 1934 (not 1935). Allan Angoff is listed as Allen Angoff, Leo Gurko as Lee Gurke, Albert Haueis as Albert Haucis, Louis Kronenberger as Louis Kronenberber, Allen Tate as Allan Tate, and Nelly Vaucher-Zananiri as Nelly Vauchier-Zananiri. The list would have been more useful if there had been regular cross references between the periodical articles and the later publication of the articles in books.

The section on "Poetry and Fiction concerning Wolfe" could be expanded and improved. Not listed are poems by Marguerite J. Adams, Adin Ballou, Rosellen Brown, Will Gibson, and Robert Raynolds. The title of V. F. Calverton's poem is "To T. W.," not "To Thomas Wolfe." Sara Henderson Hay's poem was also issued as a broadside. Eleanor G. Vance's poem was reprinted in her *Store in Your Heart* (1950).

Section J, "Brief Notices in Periodicals," is a chronological list of 270 items. The very first item is incorrectly dated (1939 for 1929), there are a few other dates which look highly suspicious, and at least fourteen items are not in their proper chronological positions. Most of the references consist only of the title of the periodical, date, and page numbers, although no page numbers are given for the majority of the notices in newspapers. It would not be difficult to supply additions to this list—but then no one would expect such a list even to approach "completeness."

One would, however, expect the next section, "Brief Notices in Books," to consist of more than 126 items. Among the books which should have been listed are: Malcolm Cowley's *Exile's Return* (1951), Hemingway's *Green Hills of Africa* (1935), Sinclair Lewis' Nobel Prize Address (1931), Stephen Longstreet's *The Last Man Comes Home* (1942), Henry T. Schnittkind's *The Poets of the Future* (1918), N. C. Starr's *The Dynamics of Literature* (1945), and R. W. Winston's *Horace Williams* (1942). It was evidently difficult to determine whether a book should be listed under "Parts of Books about Wolfe" or under "Brief Notices in Books," for six books appear in both lists. *L'Arbalète*

is included in this section, although the same issue appears in the second section as a periodical (which it is). Douglas Bement's *The Fabric of Fiction* was published in 1943 (not 1949). Oliver M. Sayler is listed as Oliver M. Saylor. The name of Earle F. Walbridge is given as Earle Wolbridge; this mistake is not carried over to the general index (where there is actually no reference to Mr. Walbridge's *Literary Characters Drawn from Life*), but there his name appears as Earl F. Walbridge (author of two reviews in Section F).

The final section, "Miscellaneous," contains a good deal of information which could have been incorporated in other sections of the bibliography or which could have been presented in a more organized manner. Much more should have been said about Wolfe's plays and dramatic adaptations from Wolfe's books and about broadcasts. *The Yackety Yack,* the yearbook of the University of North Carolina, and books with titles taken from Wolfe's writings might have been mentioned. Something might have been said about Wolfe iconography—the portraits by Douglas W. Gorsline, the bust by Nat Werner, the photographs by Doris Ulmann, Carl Van Vechten, and others. And, finally, it would certainly have been useful to have had at least a brief account of the various collections of Wolfe manuscripts and letters.

The volume concludes with "A Character Index of the Works of Thomas Wolfe" and a general index to the bibliography itself. The latter perpetuates some of the errors in names already noted and produces a few more: Carlos B. Baker for Carlos H. Baker, Douglass Bement for Douglas Bement, Anne P. Bridgers for Ann P. Bridgers, and Hugh Holmann for Hugh Holman. In a few cases surnames only are given. References are lacking to some items in the bibliography and incorrect numbers are assigned to several items.

The volume was printed by offset from typewritten copy, and it contains a reproduction of a photograph of Wolfe while a student at Harvard in 1921. The effort to maintain a uniformity in the depth of the pages has resulted in a number of awkward and disconcerting divisions.

C. Hugh Holman, of the University of North Carolina, in his admirable "Thomas Wolfe: A Bibliographical Study" (The University of Texas *Studies in Literature and Language,* Vol. 1, 1959), declared that while George R. Preston, Jr.'s bibliography of Wolfe published in 1943 "is still basic today, so much material by and about Wolfe has appeared since 1943 that a new bibliography is one of the major scholarly needs for the study of Wolfe." I am afraid that despite the efforts of Mr. Johnson, Professor Holman's statement still stands.

Alexander D. Wainwright

Princeton University Library

KEYNES, GEOFFREY. *A Bibliography of Dr. Robert Hooke.* Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1960. xxiv, 116 pp.; XII illustrations on 9 plates. $8.00.

Dr. Robert Hooke, short, stooped, bright-eyed, a major figure in the first half-century of the Royal Society, was appointed its "Curator of Experiments" in 1662, and later became second secretary; he brought to that organization "the co-ordinating intelligence which unobtrusively kept the wheels of the Society in motion." Hooke was acknowledged to be "almost, if not quite, the most prolific inventive genius that has ever lived," but, after his death in 1703, he was all but forgotten. The revival of interest in this very important figure is crowned by the publication of *A Bibliography of Dr. Robert Hooke* from the versatile pen of Sir Geoffrey Keynes.

This volume is an impressive combination of bibliography with much of biographical and historical interest. The preface provides a lucid, provocative sketch of Hooke's life, in which the reader learns, for example, that this unusual and controversial figure, best known as an experimental scientist, was also well-grounded in draftsmanship, engraving, and etching, and was an active architect and collaborator with Sir Christopher Wren in the rebuilding of London after the Great Fire. Indeed, it is noted that one of the finest examples of Hooke's architectural works is the Royal College of Physicians in Warwick Lane. Hooke was also a book collector, his library numbering over 3,250 titles in the field of science and philosophy. It is further revealed that Hooke, as a result of his review of Sir Isaac Newton's first paper (on light) to the Royal Society, earned the lasting animosity of Newton, who postponed the publication of his *Opticks* until after Hooke had died. In fact, Sir Geoffrey states that "it is probable that Newton's antipathy was largely responsible for Hooke's fall into obscurity during the 18th and 19th centuries."

Hooke's works are arranged by sections, in chronological order of the date of the first edition. There are forty items described, in ten major categories, covering each edition of the publications by, partly by, and based upon, Hooke. Each receives a detailed bibliographical description with collation, followed by comments on the significance of the book itself, and a census of copies; opposite is a reproduction of each title-page. His boundless energy is not evident in the number of his books, since he was not a prolific author. Because Hooke's own works are relatively so few in number—actually only six or eight—Sir Geoffrey may have been tempted to expand the number of items included here. For example, the first item, the *New Atlantis . . . Continued by R. H.*, cannot be easily proved to be Hooke's work. Further, no copy of the fourth item, *Discours of a New Instrument*, apparently exists. Other works are added, too, in which Hooke wrote merely the preface or a few pages. On the other hand, the inclusion of these very items does attest to the thoroughness of this study.

The books which stand forth as most important are, first and foremost, the *Micrographia*, followed by the (six) *Cutlerian Lectures*, then his contributions to the *Philosophical Transactions*, and, finally, the *Philosophical Collections*, edited by Hooke to bridge the gap in the publication of the *Philosophical Transactions* which occurred after the death of Henry Oldenburg.

There are four useful appendices, which include a list of Hooke's manuscripts and Sir Isaac Newton's notes (page by page) on *Micrographia* transcribed from a manuscript in the Cambridge University Library.

This is an attractive book, small but compendious, and might well serve as a model for further analytical and bibliographical studies in the blossoming field of History of Science.

Harrison D. Horblit

New York, N. Y.

Laurence, Dan H. *Robert Nathan—a Bibliography*. New Haven: Yale University Library, 1960. xi, 97 pp. $4.00.

Dan H. Laurence's *Robert Nathan—a Bibliography* has been prepared with a generosity of scope infrequently accorded to a living author. It includes separate publications, contributions to books, periodical publications, works in translation, and musical contributions; there is an index of first lines of poetry and a thorough general index. It is a usable work, and one can only be impressed when Mr. Laurence describes six minor items which he has been unable to locate. The lists of reprints even include the Armed Services editions; but it is regrettable that no distinction has been made between resettings and actual reprintings, and that no attempt has been made to record the number of printings within the original edition of a separate publication. What Mr. Laurence has done, he has done well, as in his differentiation of the states, issues, and concealed printings within "first editions"; the notes on the book club, complimentary, and promotional forms of *Winter in April*, *The Barley Fields*, and *Portrait of Jennie* are splendid.

Without impugning the solid merits of this bibliography, it must be noted that there are some problems here. Several Robert Nathan points listed in *Merle Johnson's American First Editions* (fourth edition, 1947) are apparently ignored and one is unable to determine whether the bibliographer is silently exploding them—or whether he neglected *AFE*. Is *AFE* wrong in noting for *The Woodcutter's House* "apparently two or more printings without change of title page?" Are there, in fact, "a very few large paper copies" of *There is Another Heaven*, as *AFE* indicates?

A spot check of this bibliography against the Alderman Library, University

of Virginia, copies of Robert Nathan has turned up a few problems. The ViU copy of *Autumn* (PS/ 3527/ .A74A8/ 1921) has this statement on the copyright page: "Published, 1921"—which is lacking in the bibliography, although such information is provided in other entries. For *The Woodcutter's House* the bibliography notes that the top edge is orange. ViU has two copies which vary: one with a bright orange top edge (Taylor / 1927/ .N38W6), and one with a rust-colored top edge (PS/ 3527/ .A74W6/ 1927); moreover, there may be a difference in the shade of green used on the end-papers in these two copies. To be sure, this quibbling about top edges, binding colors, and end-papers is all but worthless as bibliographical evidence. It has nothing to do with the printing of the sheets; but if a bibliographer goes into them, he is stuck with the job of cataloguing all these variants. This is a heroic task, particularly when colors are involved. For *Peter Kindred* Mr. Laurence notes:

> Most copies contain a 1919 imprint on title-page, are cased in dull blue cloth, and measure 7⅜ inches in page height. But I have examined a copy dated 1920, with a casing of rich, dark blue, and a page measuring 7¼ inches high. The later copy is evidence of a probable second printing. . . .

The ViU copy (PS/ 3527/ .A74P4/ 1920) is blue, measures 7⅜″, and has 1920 on the title-page; but three females were unable to agree on whether it was cased in "dull blue" or "rich, dark blue." Dan H. Laurence is not an amateur bibliographer, and these petty flaws in his otherwise praiseworthy book probably result from an attempt to satisfy both the collector and the bibliographer. This endeavor is brave, but fatiguing and perilous; signature collations would have been easier on the compiler and more helpful to other bibliographers.

Matthew J. Bruccoli

The Ohio State University

Leavitt, Sturgis Elleno, comp. *Revistas hispanoamericanas, indice bibliográfico, 1843-1935*. Recopilado por Sturgis E. Leavitt con la colaboración de Madaline W. Nichols y Jefferson Rea Spell. Santiago de Chile: Fondo Histórico y Bibliográfico José Toribio Medina, 1960. 589 pp. $19.75.

This Spanish-American equivalent of Poole's *Index* was begun in 1938 under auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies. The ACLS was unable to finance printing and publication of a work of such monumental proportions (three-columned pages, with a full index of names); but a series of miracles made it possible for the book to come out in Chile under the imprint of

the Medina Foundation as the first volume of a series issued in "Homenaje al Sesquicentenario de la Independencia Nacional 1810-1960."

The 30,107 entries are arranged in classified order. There is a distinct predominance of belletristic literature, characteristic of the Latin-American periodical literature of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The subtitle, somehow lost, originally read: "an index to the literary, linguistic, and folklore materials in fifty Spanish American magazines." Under the rubric of "Imprenta" there are only twenty-one articles, none of which is based on primary sources. The lack of scholarly literature contrasts with generous representation of leading Latin-American literary figures of the last century and a half. The first printings of many important poems, short stories, essays, and even full-length novels appear in the columns of the periodicals indexed by Dr. Leavitt and his co-workers.

There is a "fé de erratas mas importantes," no more than what could be compiled today from Poole. Dr. Leavitt is still combing the index and may issue another errata sheet. A "volante" listing the periodicals indexed and giving locations in the United States is available upon request from Dr. Leavitt, Box 1169, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

The present reviewer has examined most of the some 700 physical volumes represented in the index. Not less than three-fourths are on friable newsprint, in some instances already partially disintegrated. None is on paper that will survive the century. The only answer to the problem of preservation that we know at present is microphotographic reproduction. Twelve titles are now available on microfilm from the University of Kentucky Library, and it is hoped that all of them can be made available on film within the next three to five years.

LAWRENCE S. THOMPSON

University of Kentucky Library

LOWE, E. A. *English Uncial.* Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1960. [8], 28 pp. (text and General Index), [2] pp. (Index of Manuscripts). 40 numbered plates. 75*s.*

This fine and handsome volume with its magnificent reproductions of pages from English uncial manuscripts is worthy of the text it renders. An eminent scholar speaks to us; we can only accept, not criticize, his conclusions as to the origin, development, and significance of the English uncial hand, and we can only delight in his simple, lucid style of historical presentation.

Positively to be enjoyed is E. A. Lowe's sincere love for, and attachment to, the historical forms of letters—sentiments so characteristic of him. Yet he is not blind in his love; he is able to assert his preferences and determine his judgment

on the basis of the excellence of execution. One has heard him compare certain letter-forms and certain pages with the taste of delicious foods: with his eyes he "tasted" these black marks on a yellowed parchment. Being a great scholar does not prevent him from being an exquisite connoisseur. His introduction to this volume proves that the achievement of the scholar is sustained by the sensitiveness of an experienced eye; it has the fine flavor of a love letter, too, overshadowed of course by his scholarship—but the love is there and one can hear this venerable gentleman and scholar speak in terms of love and see him caress a certain page.

It interests us that Dr. Lowe again introduces the tantalizing question of the meaning of the word *uncial*. After quoting from Jerome in his preface to the book of Job, "Let those who want them have ancient books or books written in gold or silver on purple parchment or in what is commonly called uncial letters —written burdens [I call them] rather than books," Lowe suggests that the word *uncial* has reference "merely to size" and that the books may have been in square or rustic capitals as well as in uncial. It is an intriguing question and "merely in size" leaves one unanswered, and leads to further suppositions. "Size" may infer height (the exaggerated "inch-high") of a letter; it may infer width of a letter (for the rounded form of the uncial does not permit our narrowing it, whereas the rustic capital may be narrowed and soar to any height); and it may infer length of line (for the uncial line in inches is wasteful of space). Or, Jerome may well have been referring to the weight of a book (in "ounces") and the corresponding size of a book written in such a waste-of-space letter! But enough of added suppositions; we can only think that had Jerome not lived in a cave, we may not have been puzzling over the word *uncial*, but another. Jerome was not a scribe; we can only imagine what facilities he had in his cave, but he seems to have been wishing for a paper-back to fit into his pocket, or for an Oxford edition printed on India paper.

Dr. Lowe must truly enjoy the many full-page reproductions in this volume. His choice of examples and his "Remarks On the Plates" bear out his main reasons for bringing together in this book "the oldest and best-known specimens of English uncial . . ." namely, to show that such pages in such a publication "properly interpreted, constitute as plain and clear a record of early English history as a page of Bede himself," and, in "laying the ghost" of the Italian workmanship of the celebrated Codex Amiatinus he has given it back to the English.

Though the Amiatinus is to be admired, as Lowe so whole-heartedly does (on its best pages it has a wonderfully virile character), the Codex Bigotianus (plates xxx and xxxi), which we have examined in the Bibliothèque Nationale, draws us to it in even more admiration. The craftsmanship of its scribe is amazing and unbelievable. Admittedly it is more withdrawn, for the pages are more

uniform and the execution by one scribe only (or so we believe). There are traits in this script which have not been detected by us in any other manuscripts we have seen, or in any of the reproduced specimens in this volume, traits which are puzzling, for it is difficult to guess how its letters are so firmly and uniformly executed—in particular the letters B, R, and N. The N, for example, is made up of three strokes: two verticals and one diagonal. The N's in the Bigotianus begin with a downward vertical, ending in a serif at the foot. Then comes the fat diagonal and an upward vertical with a serif on its top, indicating an abnormal position of the pen, or of the parchment. If the parchment is in a normal writing position, the diagonal, beginning at the top of the vertical on the left, will not start with a point but with a horizontal (as in all of the other manuscripts shown here—for instance in the Avranches Gospels, plate XXIX), and only when reaching the end of the diagonal may it end in a point by turning the pen, therefore making it easy to end the diagonal in a point. But not in the Bigotianus N, for here the diagonal of the N *begins* and *ends* in a point. On plate XXXI, the fifth line from the bottom starts with an N followed by an E and then a Z (Zacharias). If the parchment were turned forty-five degrees to the left the Z would become an N, and when turned forty-five degrees to the right the N would become a Z. There is a slight difference in the serifs of N and Z which might be indicative of what happened. The diagonal of the N must have been executed in a different manner from the diagonals of the other letters, particularly the A. Are there other manuscripts of this scribe in existence?

Such digressions only emphasize the interest and fascination Dr. Lowe's *English Uncial* has for the calligrapher and typecutter; he has achieved more, in giving this text and its plates to us, than he has suggested in his introduction.

This volume printed at the Clarendon Press happily avoids in its format and typography any allusions to the contents. Its cool, classical style, its reticence and the good taste which follows from it, provide a book more alive than all the attempts of the so-called "designer" to express that futile thing in a book, the *Zeitgeist*. A craft, however restrained, asserts itself without effort. Elevating printing to the level of an art is fallacious; as a craft it stays within its own noble limits.

CAROLYN and VICTOR HAMMER

Lexington, Kentucky

SALLANDER, HANS. *Medeltidens boktryckerihistoria.* Stockholm: Gebers, 1959. 211 pp., 117 plates. Sw. kr. 24.

Although Sweden holds a distinguished position in the study of incunabula as a result of the work of Isak Collijn and other scholars, there has been no

comprehensive history of fifteenth-century printing in Swedish up to this time. The first book in Swedish in this field has been written by the head of the Catalogue Department of the University of Uppsala Library, to whom we are also indebted for the exemplary catalogue of incunabula in this library and the well-written history of the book in Dahl's *Håndbog i bibliotheksklundskab*. Sallander's work is purposely aimed at a broad public and is primarily for Swedish readers. Although we cannot expect reports of new research, the text nevertheless reveals the author's mastery of his subject. Nothing fundamental is omitted from the history of printing from the invention up to its penetration of northern and eastern Europe. The plan of the work is, of course, strictly pragmatic. The reader secures a good picture of the multiplicity of printing houses and printers and their books. However, the intellectual, economic, and sociological significance of the revolutionary invention is treated too briefly. Neither is there an account of the effect of the printed book on European culture.

As the author emphasizes in the preface, limited space compelled him to deal rather summarily with the three most important countries in the early history of printing—Germany, Italy, and France. Nevertheless, even here the developments are pointed out in detail. Of the more important German printers only Schüssler, Flach, and Froben are omitted. Moreover, the authority in the field will be satisfied that Sallander has taken cognizance of the latest research throughout his book. Those problems of prototypography which are still unsolved are noted by brief reference to the frequently contradictory hypotheses. To note but a few examples, we find mention of Wehmer's discovery of the Cracow trial pulls, Masson's investigations of the piecemeal printing of the Psalter, Ohly's evidence for the beginning of B. Ruppel's work as a printer in Basel, and even Dressler's problem-fraught efforts to rescue the thirty-six-line Bible for Gutenberg. On the other hand we miss Rudolf Blum's important contribution to the interpretation of the Helmasperger notarial instrument, the first literary references to the invention from the decree of Charles VII to Trithemius, or reference to Waldfoghel as an assumed precursor or competitor of Gutenberg; and, in general, the first steps to typography and the technical prerequisites for its invention are discussed too briefly. Likewise, we might have wished for more detail on the development of printing types and illustrations.

However, these are rough spots which reflect in no way on the reliability of the book. The fact that northern Europe receives more detailed treatment than southern Europe is readily explained by the author's point of view, but we might have hoped for greater detail on the Scandinavian countries themselves, even though printing was fairly slight here up to 1500.

Actually the list of bibliographical references is the only unsatisfactory part of Sallander's book. Here there are some definitive investigations lacking (to

mention only the names of Schorbach, Schwenke, Hupp, Zedler, and Ruppel, of whom only one work each is mentioned, and Scholderer and Schramm), while many of the titles that are listed are really not essential for the lay reader. Among facsimiles at least the publications of the Gesellschaft für Typenkunde should have been mentioned. A new edition can eliminate this deficiency.

The book has over a hundred illustrations. While they lack technical perfection as a result of the modest price of the volume, they are quite sufficient to provide the uninitiated reader with an adequate idea of the printed book in the fifteenth century.

F. A. Schmidt-Künsemüller

University of Kiel Library

Thuesen, Arthur. *Beslaglagte og supprimerte bøker vedrørende Norge.* Oslo: Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, 1960. 288 pp.

This is a new edition of an annotated bibliography first published in 1927 with the title, *Beslaglagte og supprimerte bøker i den norske litteratur* (Seized and Suppressed Books in Norwegian Literature). The original plan of interpreting the legal terms *beslagleggelse* and *supprimering* in their widest meaning has been continued in this augmented edition (from 172 to 288 pages) in order to include as large a number of works as possible.

In addition to works confiscated and condemned by court decisions, the following criteria were used in selecting the 300 or so items for inclusion: (1) works initially declared confiscated but later made available for purchase, (2) works temporarily withheld from purchase for variable lengths of time, until a decision was reached regarding their fate but later made available for purchase, (3) works which are or have been suppressed either by the author or publisher, (4) works suppressed by private parties who were interested in blocking distribution of the works in question through mass purchase and destruction of all obtainable copies, (5) finally, works seized or suppressed in their original versions but later sold after more or less extensive revisions.

The words in the title "bøker vedrørende Norge" appear to include all books, fiction and non-fiction, foreign or domestic, which were available to a Norwegian market. For example, a Norwegian translation of Freud's *Moses and Monotheism*, ready for the book stores just before the Nazi invasion of Norway in 1940, was held back by the publishers, anticipating Nazi suppression of any works by Freud. Thuesen has deliberately omitted from inclusion in his list works confiscated or condemned by the Nazis or the Norwegian Quislings between 1940 and 1945. He has, however, included works published by Quislings,

particularly during the last year of the war, which were later suppressed or destroyed.

A rapid tabulation by date of publication reveals that all but thirty of the three hundred-plus works appeared after 1800, with almost fifty items clustering in the decade, 1881 to 1890, followed by the thirty-five works cited for the decade 1941 to 1950.

It would have been helpful if the author had provided either a bibliographic essay or a summary classification of the items according to his several criteria of selection. A more refined discussion of criterion number three would have revealed that a large number of items in this group were "suppressed" for typographical and not for ideological, legal, or literary reasons. This analysis would go beyond the impression given by the title, an impression which is reinforced by an all too brief foreword stating that the listing is intended for those scholars interested in the study of a "principled" censorship, public or private.

Thuesen's work provides a basis for a variety of social-historical studies of this dimension of censorship in Norwegian society and as such represents a very real contribution to scholarship.

John T. Flint

University of Kentucky

White, William. *John Ciardi, a Bibliography, with a Note by John Ciardi.* Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1959. 65 pp., 2 plates. $1.00.

It has become almost popular to compile bibliographies of living authors. This bibliography was compiled to celebrate a special exhibition at Wayne State University Library of the Charles Feinberg Collection of books and manuscripts of John Ciardi and an address by Ciardi at the Detroit Public Library in May 1959. The contents include, besides an Introduction by the compiler and a Note by Ciardi, bibliographical descriptions of nine books; material by him in books; poems in periodicals, articles, and reviews; reviews of his nine books; biography and criticism; manuscripts and other material in the Feinberg Collection; and an index to titles. Mr. Ciardi uses such words as "portentous," "incipient rigor mortis," "bronze casket" in reference to his forthcoming bibliography, but he is nevertheless pleased with the "recognition." "No artist," he writes, "should throw away anything. Good or bad, what he does is part of himself, and he needs it all to know himself by. I am especially curious, therefore, to see what William White has dug up for inclusion."

Mr. Ciardi may be disappointed in the inclusion. In his introduction Mr. White says this bibliography will be "a representative review of Mr. Ciardi's

work to date." Further, "Only the poems and criticism in the most easily available periodicals are listed." The present bibliography, the author states, is not complete. This is quite true. There are poems listed in Granger's *Index to Poetry,* for example, not listed in the index. Such a well-known anthology as *The War Poets,* edited by Oscar Williams (1945) is not included. It is also interesting to note that in the volume *Live Another Day* (1949) the contents is divided into sections with titles, and in some instances, poems not listed or indexed. Besides the incompleteness, the bibliography shows other weaknesses. A note at the end of the description of *I Marry You* states that there have been two "editions." A copy I examined says "Second Printing." Could this be what the author means by another "edition?"

The real interest in this booklet lies in the section listing "MSS and Other Material in the Feinberg Collection." One manuscript of the poem "Song" is reproduced but unfortunately not identified; that is, it does not indicate if it has ever been published or where. There is a poem "Song" in the Oscar Williams anthology which is not this "Song" reproduced from the Feinberg Collection. The index indicates two other "Songs" which it might be, but there is no way to tell from this bibliography. In fact, none of the material in the Feinberg Collection appears to be indexed at all. There are a number of details in form and consistency of entry about which one could quarrel with the author, but they are less important than his failure to be complete even for "easily available" material, to give priority of publication for the poems and other work, or to identify the same poems in different publications with the manuscripts in the Feinberg Collection. Mr. Ciardi is most fortunate to have a distinguished collector like Mr. Feinberg interested in his work so early in his career. This booklet can do much to stimulate appreciation of John Ciardi, but Mr. Ciardi does not as yet have a "bronze casket" preserving a record of his work during his formative years and those of his maturity to date. The work is not "the be-all and the end-all here," to continue the quotation from *Macbeth* used by the author. It was done quickly, perhaps too quickly to be criticized seriously as a bibliography of John Ciardi.

CHARLES M. ADAMS

Woman's College of the University of North Carolina

BRIEFER MENTION

The James Ford Bell Collection, a List of Additions, 1955-1959 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1961; 217 pp.) compiled by John Parker is a

[All articles of BRIEFER MENTION are written by Mr. Thompson, unless otherwise noted.—ED.]

chronological list of more than 2,000 items acquired during the past lustrum. The purpose of the Bell Collection of the University of Minnesota Library is to acquire "those books, maps, and manuscripts which portray the state of European knowledge of the earth before the age of discovery, and those which altered that knowledge through accounts of voyages and travels to all parts of the earth." The bulk of the recent acquisitions of the Bell Collection fall in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. There is an author index, and each item has a brief annotation, when necessary.

The Centre International de Documentation Économique et Sociale Africaine (CIDESA), 42 Rue du Commerce, Brussels, has an active bibliographical program covering all aspects of African affairs. In the last two years it has published five major bibliographies and issued some 1,200 printed cards analyzing the contents of periodicals, official documents, and books relating to Africa. The bibliographies are, seriatim, (1) M.-L. Kerremans-Ramioulle, *Le problème de la délinquance juvénile* (1959, 2d ed.), (2) Jean Leyder, *L'enseignement supérieur et la recherche scientifique en Afrique intertropicale* (1959-60, 3 pts. in 2 v.), (3) Paul Verhaegen, *Le problème de l'habitat rural en Afrique noire* (1960), (4) T. Heyse, *Problèmes fonciers et régime des terres* (1960), and (5) Guy Smet, *Contribution à l'étude de la progression économique de l'Afrique* (1960). The bibliographies are arranged alphabetically, with each item assigned a number; and at the beginning there are classified indexes with references to the numbers of pertinent items. The first group of cards for 1961 includes 300 entries with titles from the entire world, including the Soviet Union. Each card contains the full entry, a U.D.C. number, and contents notes in French and English.

To one of the most distinguished investigators of the history of bookbinding in our time the *Festschrift Ernst Kyriss* (Stuttgart: Max Hettler Verlag, 1961; 493 pp.) is dedicated on the occasion of his eightieth birthday. Contributions have come from all the Germanies, the Low Countries, Scandinavia, England, Scotland, America, France, and Italy. It is richly illustrated and printed, and bound in a style consistent with the solid, dignified tradition of bibliographical scholarship represented by Ernst Kyriss. The bibliography of the honoree, at the end, lists five monographic works, seventy-four contributions to serials, and fifty-seven reviews. The twenty-eight essays in the volume together constitute a major contribution to bibliographical scholarship, and full justice may be done to them only in an extended article surveying the present status of research in this field.

Francis W. Allen's *The Bookplates of William Fowler Hopson, a Descriptive*

Check List (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Library, 1961; 65 pp.) describes 205 bookplates by one of the acknowledged masters of ex-libris design. In 1938 Mrs. Hopson presented her collection of her husband's work to Yale University, along with a great deal of related material (correspondence, trial proofs, scrapbooks, publications on the graphic arts). Each plate is described in considerable detail, generally accompanied by notes on the collector or library for whom it was made and any pertinent details about techniques of engraving or other features. There are ten illustrations, eight of which are of Mr. Hopson's bookplates. The frontispiece is an unfinished self-portrait.

From the Laboratory for the Conservation and Restoration of Documents (Laboratoriia Konservatsii i Restavratsii Dokumentov) of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. comes an illustrated collection of fifteen essays, *Novye metody restavratsii i konservatsii dokumentov i knig; sbornik rabot za 1958 god* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1960; 174 pp.). Soviet restoration experts have described research on such topics as the action of a high-frequency electro-magnetic field in destroying bacteria and its effect on paper, use of polyethylene films for restoration, adhesives, reproducing faded pictures, beta-radiographic methods of reproducing watermarks, unusual cases of bringing back faded texts, and much other miscellaneous information and frequently useful nugae of wisdom about the physical properties of the things with which we work. The price of eight rubles, fifty kopeks, will be justified by the illustrations, tables, and bibliography, even if the text is inaccessible.

S. A. Spence (178 Morden Rd., Mitcham, Surrey) is both the compiler and publisher of *Captain James Cook, R.N. (1728-1779), a Bibliography of His Voyages, to Which Is Added Other Works Relating to his Life, Conduct, & Nautical Achievements* (1960; 50 pp.). The arrangement is chronological according to the three major voyages, with a concluding section of biography and miscellanea. There are two portraits of Cook and two of Sir Joseph Banks. There is no index. Rolf du Rietz' *Captain James Cook, a Bibliography of Literature Printed in Sweden before 1819* (Uppsala: Privately printed, 1960; 27 pp.) is interleaved for the benefit of those who find additions, but it seems likely that these pages will remain relatively blank. While, as du Rietz explicitly points out, the books on Cook printed in Sweden before 1819 are secondary as source material, they were widely read and clearly had considerable influence. Du Rietz consulted several other important collections of Pacificana in compiling his bibliography, notably those of Bjarne Kroepelien of Oslo and P. Patrick O'Reilly of Paris. He now plans a bibliography of the literature on the three Swedes who participated in Cook's voyages: Daniel Solander (a name not unfamiliar to bookmen), Herman Diedrich Spöring, and Anders Sparrman.

Many of the smaller Italian municipal libraries are surprisingly rich in early printed books and in manuscripts, and compilations such as Giuseppe Zaccaria's *Catalogo degli incunaboli della Biblioteca Comunale di Assisi* (Florence: Olschki, 1961; 114 pp.; *Biblioteca di bibliografia italiana* XXXVIII) are especially welcome. Of the 350 titles described, the earliest is St. Ambrose's *De officiis*, printed about 1471 in Rome by Giovanni Filippo La Legname. There is a chronological table, a list of places and presses represented in the collection, an alphabetical list of printers, and concordances with the fundamental bibliographies of incunabula. Full collations are given only for the five titles not described elsewhere, but there are notes on bindings, provenance, and any peculiar features of the copy at hand. The Assisi library is based largely on the former collection of the Sacro Convento di S. Francesco and a few other monasteries suppressed in 1860 and 1866.

Mariangela Donà's *La stampa musicale a Milano fino 1700* (Florence: Olschki, 1961; 167 pp.; *Biblioteca di bibliografia italiana* XXXIX) records the work of over fifty Milanese publishers of music from 1486 (Leonardus Pachel and Uldericus Scinzenzeler) through the end of the seventeenth century. The book is arranged alphabetically by the name of the publisher, and there are full titles and collations of each book together with locations and bibliographical references. There are indexes of authors and of individuals to whom the compositions are dedicated. Miss Donà's work is a valuable supplement to Claudio Sartori's *Dizionario degli editori musicali italiani* (Florence: Olschki, 1958); and it is, above all, a key reference work for students of Renaissance and Baroque music.

Josip Badalić, *Jugoslavica usque ad annum MDC; Bibliographie der südslawischen Frühdrucke* (Aureliae Aquensis [Baden-Baden]: Librairie Heitz, 1959; 140 pp.; *Bibliotheca bibliographica aureliana* II) is the first catalog of south Slavic books printed at Tübingen, Venice, and elsewhere, as well as in Yugoslavia, through 1600. There are thirteen incunabula and 221 titles from the sixteenth century, including twenty-eight in church Slavic printed in the boundaries of present-day Roumania. Badalić, who was formerly associated with the Academy of Sciences at Zagreb, describes individual titles and gives references to fuller descriptions in other bibliographies. He gives locations when possible; in a few instances he had to give secondary descriptions, since he was unable to locate a copy. An earlier work by Badalić, in part related to the present study, is his *Inkunabule u Narodnoj Republici Hrvatskoj* (Zagreb, 1952).

The *Catalogue of the Walter Frank Perkins Agricultural Library* (Southampton: The University Library, 1961; 291 pp.) records over 2,000 works of British and Irish writers on the agriculture of the United Kingdom. Mr.

Perkins (1865-1946) presented his collection to the young University of Southampton shortly before his death; while it falls considerably short of comprehensiveness, it will be an eligible point of departure for historians of British agriculture. There are ten STC titles and twenty-five Wing titles, conveniently tabulated on p. 281. There are also lists of periodicals (pp. 282-83) and county agricultural reports (pp. 284-89). The entries in the main alphabetical section are quite full, with bibliographical notes that will be of use in making comparisons with other copies. The bibliography was compiled by A. Anderson, using the preliminary work of E. H. Milligan.

The *Bibliografia forestieră romînă, 1860-1956* (Bucharest: Editura Agro-Silvica de Stat, 1958; 533 pp.; Ministerul Agriculturii şi Silviculturii, Departamentul Silviculturii, Institutul de Cercetări Silvici, *Manuale, Referate, Monografii*, ser. II, nr. 15), compiled by Teodor Bălanica, Victoria Dimitriu, Constantin Lazarescu, and Victoria Davidescu, is a basic bibliography in the field of forestry, not only for Roumania, but also for southeastern Europe. Nearly 6,000 entries are arranged in classified order, and there is an author index. Annual supplements for 1957 and 1958 have appeared in 1958 and 1960 respectively, in the same arrangement, and with the added feature of translations of titles of articles into French.

Lee Ash's *Serial Publications Containing Medical Classics, an Index to Citations in Garrison-Morton* (New Haven, Conn.: The Antiquarium, 1961; 147 pp.) is an alphabetical list of serials containing the "medical classics." Under each title the references to "classics" are listed chronologically. Included are not only the main references in Garrison-Morton (2nd edition, 1954), but also related papers, translations, abstracts, or reprints, in serial form, that have been indicated by Morton. The latter's paper on "The Story of the Garrison-Morton Bibliography of Medical Classics," a Woodward Lecture delivered at the Yale University Medical Library on 31 May 1960, appears as part of the introductory matter.

Heinz Bingenheimer's *Transgalaxis, Katalog der deutschsprachigen utopisch-phantastischen Literatur 1460-1960* (Friedrichsdorf/Taunus: Transgalaxis, 1959; 124 pp.) is a vademecum for collectors of science fiction. It is a short-title list recording all German literature in this genre. Particularly valuable features are the lists of publishers, authors, pseudonyms, and local "fan periodicals." Bingenheimer proposes to bring out a new edition every two years.

The fifth volume of the *Westfälische Bibliographie* (Dortmund: Stadt- und Landesbibliothek Dortmund, 1960; 164 pp.) covers the year 1959 and includes 3,330 entries. From the standpoints of coverage, completeness, and

promptness, it is one of the best of all regional historical bibliographies. It is arranged in classified form, and there is a full author index. The section on "Buch-, Druck- und Verlagswesen" contains eleven items.

Hermann Hienz' *Bücherkunde zur Volks- und Heimatforschung der Siebenbürger Sachsen* (Munich: Verlag R. Oldenbourg, 1960; 579 pp.; "Buchreihe der Südostdeutschen Historischen Kommission" v) is a revised edition of Hienz' *Quellen zur Volks- und Heimatkunde der Siebenbürger Sachsen* (Leipzig, 1940). It is a comprehensive classified bibliography of all aspects of the history and life of the Transylvania Germans, and the 128-page alphabetical name and subject index is a detailed key to the 5,902 entries in the main bibliography. Hienz has covered the published literature on the Transylvania Germans up to his press time, but it is a sad commentary on current affairs that virtually all publications since 1945 by Roumania's most creative national element carry West German imprints.

Several important bibliographies have appeared recently from the press of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences (Nakladatelství Československé Akademie Věd). The *Bibliografie Československé historie za rok 1957* (1960; 327 pp.) contains 5,124 entries arranged in classified order and indexed by author. The central position of Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia in middle European history lends a special importance to this bibliography. Czech serials and major foreign publications are indexed.

In 1955 the *Bibliografie české linguistiky za léta 1945-1950, jazykověda obecná, indoevropská, slovanská a česká* appeared under the editorship of Zdeněk Tyl. It included 2,509 entries in classified order with annotations, references to reviews, and indexes of authors and words. In 1957 a supplement, covering the years 1951-55, appeared under the same title and in the same arrangement, but with 3,268 entries. The extensive Czech literature on national and comparative linguistics is made much more accessible by this well-organized bibliographical series to which we may look forward every five years.

An annual scientific bibliography from the Czech Academy is Jaroslav Heyrovský's *Bibliography of Publications Dealing with Polarographic Method*, of which the 1959 volume (1960; 94 pp.) is the most recent. Heyrovský's original *Complete Bibliography of Polarographic Publications from 1922 to 1950* was published in 1951 and has been supplemented annually.

One more addition to the collections of French Revolutionary pamphlets in North America is ably described by Ambrose Saricks in *A Bibliography of the Frank E. Melvin Collection of Pamphlets of the French Revolution in the University of Kansas Libraries* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Libraries, 1960; 2 vols.;

University of Kansas Publications, Library Series no. 10). Largely based on an *en bloc* purchase from Nijhoff in 1952, the collection was appropriately named for the late Professor Melvin, who performed very substantial services in assembling a solid working collection of source materials on the Revolutionary and Napoleonic periods at Kansas. No. 11 in the Kansas Library Series is Allan Stevenson's *Observations on Paper as Evidence* (1961; 28 pp.), and no. 13 is Charlton Hinman's *Six Variant Readings in the First Folio of Shakespeare* (1961; 17 pp.).

Louis Kaplan's *A Bibliography of American Autobiographies* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1961; 372 pp.) is a long-needed reference book in the field of American studies. While Dr. Kaplan has set up some fairly rigid rules for inclusion and exclusion, he has managed to find and describe briefly (title, imprint, pagination) some 6,000 American autobiographies. There is a brief annotation whenever the title is not self-explanatory, and the location of the copy described is given by the National Union Catalogue symbol. There is a subject index, including fourteen booksellers, thirty-seven printers, and eighty-five publishers. A useful feature of the index is division by half centuries (before 1800, 1800-50, 1850-1900, and 1900-45). Since the titles in the main alphabet are numbered, we may properly expect to find "Kaplan" as a standard reference in antiquarian catalogues in the future.

Augustin Millares Carlo's *Repertorio bibliográfico de los archivos mexicanos y de los europeos y norteamericanos de interes para la historia de Mexico* (México, D.F.: Biblioteca Nacional de México, Institutio Bibliográfico Mexicano, 1959; 366 pp.; [*Publicaciones*] vol. 1) is a detailed account of manuscript sources for Mexican history in all parts of the world where such material is known. It is divided geographically, and there is a full index of names, subjects, and official agencies. The descriptive notes are often suggestive for new departures in research in Mexican history; and at the same time many of them are pleasing essays on the history and development of research collections in this field.

Homero Castillo and Raul Silva Castro have filled a weak spot of Latin-American bibliography with their *Historia bibliográfica de la novela chilena* (Charlottesville, Virginia: Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia; México, D.F., Ediciones de Andrea, 1961; 214 pp.). Luis Ignacio Silva Arriagada's *La novela en Chile* (1910) was a useful beginning in this field, but the last half century has seen a far greater literary production in Chile than at any earlier period. The present bibliography contains more than 4,000 titles, if we include short stories in collections (of which contents are given). The arrangement is alphabetical by author, with cross-references from pseudonyms and variant forms of names, and the title, imprint, and main pagination are given

for each title. There is an index including authors of prologues and introductions, translators, collaborators, and editors.

José Toribio Medina, Humanist of the Americas, an Appraisal (Washington: Pan American Union, 1960; 295 pp.), edited by Maury A. Bromsen, contains essays and addresses by eighteen bibliographers, librarians, booksellers, and literary historians from both Americas delivered in 1952 at the centennial celebration of Medina's birth. It includes biographical essays and studies of Medina's contributions to bibliography, history, geography, numismatics, literature, philology, linguistics, science, typography, and intellectual co-operation. An appendix contains documents on the Medina Centennial Celebration, and there are eight illustrations of Medina and of persons and places associated with him. The work is fully indexed.

Another important publication of the Pan American Union is the facsimile of Bishop White Kennett's *Bibliothecae americanae primordiae* (London, 1713), with an introduction by Frederick R. Goff. Mr. Goff's essay reveals much insight into Bishop Kennett's tastes and bibliographical acumen, and he has provided a useful list of those works in the original collection that can now be identified, along with locations (some undoubtedly being the *primordia* owned by the original compiler). The facsimile itself leaves much to be desired. The verso of the title-page thanks Dr. Howard F. Cline "for providing the microfilm of the *Primordia* for reproduction purposes." It is unfortunate that the plates for the facsimile could not have been made directly from the Jefferson copy in the Library of Congress.

José Simón Díaz and Juana de José Prades are the editors of a new series of *Cuadernos bibliográficos*, which began to appear in Madrid early in 1961 under the imprint of the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Four numbers have appeared thus far. Alberto Sanchez is the compiler of *Cervantes: bibliografía fundamental (1900-1959)* (16 pp., 242 entries), a selective bibliography of the best books on Cervantes published in the twentieth century. Florentino Zamora's *Lope de Vega: poesías preliminares de libros* (73 pp.) contains the text of seventy poems written by Lope to appear as prefaces for his friends' books. Many are reprinted here for the first time. The members of the seminar of Hispanic bibliography of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of the University of Madrid have compiled the *Cartelera teatral madrilena: I: años 1830-1839* (93 pp.), a record of the performances of plays as found by a thorough reading of the Madrid press for the period. José Simón Díaz and Juana de José Prades have published the fourth fascicle, *Lope de Vega: nuevos estudios* (16 pp., 211 entries): it is a continuation of the *Ensayo de una bibliografía de estudios sobre la vida y las obras de Lope de Vega* (1955).

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